The Nation.

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The Week.

The framers of the Constitution dreaded a powerful executive. They had themselves suffered, as their ancestors had suffered before them, from the tyranny of the King. They remembered how Parliament, over and over again, had come to the defence of popular liberty against the despotism of English monarchs. They feared that a strong President might overthrow the liberties of the republic which they were founding. They believed that Congress alone must have the power to declare war, because, as Story puts it, "the chief magistrate ought not to be clothed with a power so summary, and at the same time so full of dangers to the public interest and the public safety"; and that specific appropriations should be made by Congress, because, to quote Story again, "if it were otherwise, the executive would possess an unbounded power over the public purse of the nation." We have changed all this, and the unquestioned grant of fifty millions by Congress to the President, to be expended at his discretion, is only the final embodiment of a tendency which has long been plain to every observer. The American people no longer fear the executive, and they no longer trust the legislative body. This is equally true in city, state, and nation. In the present grave crisis we should hail the adjournment of the war-making branch of the Government, and gladly intrust the sole control of the controversy with Spain to the President, well knowing that he might, if he chose, take a course which would precipitate war.

Spain's alleged bankruptcy, as a reason why she will never think of fighting a nation able to vote $50,000,000 in one lavish lump, is no new consideration. It was urged in 1875, when we were talking of armed intervention in Cuba, and Caleb Cushing, our Minister at Madrid, wrote a letter of warning to Secretary Fish on the subject. Spain's finances, he admitted, were in a bad way, but it would never do for the United States to "confide in a deficiency of financial resources standing in the way, if Spain be hard pushed, and stirred up to make sacrifices in case of a war with the United States." In the first place, she would find considerable resources to draw upon in a moment of desperation. There was really much wealth in the country which would come forward in case of war. The Spaniards were "a people preëminently sober in food and drink," and hence their armies can be "contentedly supported" very cheaply, as the Duke of Wellington observed. Moreover, it is by no means true that war cannot be carried on by a country in financial difficulties. Mr. Cushing wrote (and his words are just as pat to-day):

> "The finances of Spain are not in a much worse condition than they were in the time of Charles V. and his successors of the Austrian dynasty. Great loans were rarer then than now. Spain relied much on wealthy Jews for anticipations, although Jews and Gentiles, in the matter of money-lending, incurred hazards quite in proportion to the profits, as illustrated in the hardships of the Jews in Spain, and the case of Jacques Cœur in France. In truth, the Fuggers of Augsburg are among the few houses of that class which remain to this day. Hence the terrible financial straits which the Philips—II., III., and IV.—were constantly suffering in Spain. Nevertheless, they sustained great wars all over the world."

One of the inevitable consequences of war, or even of war-talk, is to postpone any and all attempts to reform the currency. We were getting into a hopeful state before the *Maine* explosion took place. A sub-committee of the committee on banking and currency had been appointed to prepare a plan, and there was every prospect of an early report. What prospect is there of the consideration of that or any other domestic reform in the midst of the passions that accompany war? The business of killing the enemy and of burying our own dead and tending our own wounded will supersede everything else. So far from reforming the currency, we shall deteriorate it from day to day. It took us fourteen years to get back to specie payments after the civil war. Yet one of the most probable consequences of a war now would be a fresh suspension, and a strong political party opposed to resumption at any time, on any terms, and in favor of the lowest scale of depreciation possible. The admirable work of the Indianapolis convention will be submerged. What we have learned by experience in a financial way (and we certainly have learned some valuable lessons since the panic of 1893) will be forgotten. Heaven only knows when we shall be sufficiently composed again to resume rational discussion of financial questions, or what kind of ideas will be dominant after a war, especially if it be a war undertaken to prevent the wicked Democrats from carrying the next Congress and upsetting the gold standard.

Since the Senate committee on commerce, by a unanimous vote, made an unfavorable report upon the outrageous nomination by President McKinley of a most disreputable negro politician for Naval Officer at New Orleans, the members of the upper branch show a growing disposition to resume the exercise of judgment upon the appointments proposed by the President. On Thursday a Pennsylvanian was rejected as Receiver of Public Moneys in Oklahoma, and a Texan as Indian Agent in Arizona, on the ground that such nominations violate the principle to which both parties are committed by their last national platforms, that appointments to Federal offices in the Territories should be made from residents. This action is the more notable because last year the Senate consented to repeated violations of this principle by the President, in one case to provide a place for a relative of Mr. McKinley.

The Republican city convention in Des Moines, week before last, adopted a resolution favoring the adoption of a civil-service system for the city based on merit and fitness, "believing it to be desirable in itself, and indispensable to the best results of municipal ownership of public franchises," which the platform also favored; and requesting the Senator and Representatives from Des Moines to favor the enactment by the Legislature of a general municipal civil-service law. The reform measure introduced in the Ohio Legislature proposes that the merit system may be introduced in any city if the voters shall declare in favor of it upon the submission of the question. The Cleveland *Leader* declares its firm conviction that, if the question of inaugurating this system were submitted to the voters of Cleveland, the proposition would carry by an overwhelming majority, and it also believes that a large majority of the people living in the cities of Ohio would approve the passage by the Legislature of the pending bill. All signs indicate that the reform is steadily gaining ground all over the country, through the public's growing appreciation of its great advantages over the spoils system.

Mr. John M. Good, who was elected Mayor of Springfield, Ohio, last spring, has been ousted from his office on a verdict by the Circuit Court that he was guilty of violating the corrupt-practices law of the State. This is the first decision of the kind, we believe, that has been made under any of the dozen or more corrupt-practices laws which we have in this country, although it is notorious that most of these are violated, more or less flagrantly, in every election. Mr. Good was elected as a Democrat by a plurality of 1,100. Under the law, which is known as the Garfield law, he was permitted to expend only $144.50, the amount of the expenditure being regulated by the size of the constituency. Not only was it proved in court that his expenditures had exceeded the lawful limit, but in its verdict the court said

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that his sworn return of expenses was wilfully false in every particular, and that all the expenses named were for illegal purposes. Furthermore, it was shown that he had made promises to appoint specified persons to office, which was also an illegal act under the law, sufficient of itself to deprive him of his office. There is great astonishment in party circles in Ohio over this verdict. Mr. Good has been performing the duties of Mayor for nearly a year, and there seems to have been little expectation that the court would decide against him. Suit was brought by the President of a Trades Assembly, who was moved to do so through failure of Mr. Good to fulfil a preëlection promise.

The most important aspect of the incident is its notification to all politicians throughout the State that a corrupt-practices law is capable of being enforced as rigorously as any other law. This was a lesson which it was very hard for politicians to learn about civil-service laws, which for years they regarded as play or "fool" laws, passed only to quiet reformers, and not to be taken seriously or obeyed literally. The Garfield corrupt-practices law is one of the most recent statutes of the kind that we have, having been enacted in 1896. It was brought before the Supreme Court recently, on a charge of unconstitutionality, but was upheld as constitutional. It is a fairly good law, but is less stringent in some respects than similar laws in other States, notably those of Missouri, California, and Minnesota. Yet we doubt if it has been so openly violated as these laws have been in nearly every election held since they were put on the statute-books. The California law especially has been treated with open contempt by many candidates, who have filed burlesque reports under it, yet there has been no effort made to enforce its provisions. Under the Ohio law, any elector may file with the Attorney-General charges of violation against a candidate, and the Attorney-General is directed to bring an action, but the elector must accompany his charges with a bond of $1,000. In case the Attorney-General fails to act, the elector may bring suit himself. The burden thus placed upon the elector is a heavy one, and, unless he is animated by unusual zeal in the public interest, or by unusual personal animosity, he is not likely to undertake the task. If we could have in every State which possesses such a law an association or associations of men organized for the express purpose of seeing to it that all violators are brought to justice, there would soon be a change of attitude by the politicians.

Judge Woodward, who presided over the recent trial at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., of the Sheriff and his deputies who fired upon the mob of riotous strikers at Lattimer last year, seems to be a man of the same type as Judge Gary, before whom the Chicago anarchists were brought. It required both physical and moral courage in each case to insist that justice should be done when threats of actual violence were made in case of conviction, and it required also the judicial temper in its best development to make such rulings and deliver such a charge to the jury as should convince all fair-minded men that impartiality held absolute sway on the bench. Judge Woodward met all of these tests as well as Judge Gary. Nor are these exceptional cases, save for the intense interest felt in the trials. Our judiciary, as a whole, has well maintained its ancient reputation throughout the period in which labor troubles have subjected the bench to new tests of courage, ability, and fairness. So long as we can count upon a Gary or a Woodward in any emergency, we may retain unimpaired confidence in our courts.

A revolt of the right sort against Quayism in Pennsylvania has at last started. The movement to oppose the boss through the candidacy of a man who supported him only a few years ago could not arouse the spirit and enthusiasm which must be evoked in order to make the fight against Quay either threatening or inspiring. The leader in such a contest must be a man who has always been the outspoken opponent of bossism. Such a man is the Rev. Dr. Swallow, a plain-spoken and courageous clergyman, who is thoroughly informed as to the corruption of Quay rule, and who is not afraid to tell what he thinks about it. Dr. Swallow ran for State Treasurer last year as the candidate of the Prohibitionists, and gave the politicians of all parties a tremendous surprise by polling nearly 120,000 votes, and carrying about a dozen counties, including the one which contains the State capital. As the Prohibition vote the year before had been less than 20,000, it was clear that about 100,000 men had supported Dr. Swallow without any reference to his views on the liquor question, simply as a protest against boss rule. Some public-spirited citizens of Philadelphia, who were much impressed by his campaign last year, propose to put Dr. Swallow in the field this year as an independent candidate for Governor. Among the leaders in this movement are Philip C. Garrett (chairman of the old Committee of One Hundred), Archdeacon Cyrus T. Brady, and Mr. Herbert Welsh, while many other prominent citizens have already pledged their support to it. Dr. Swallow will stand, and his campaign will be watched with the greatest interest and the warmest sympathy by all friends of good government throughout the country.

The Populist Governor of Kansas has given out an address "going for" the Supreme Court of the United States, and it is announced that the pronunciamiento has the approval of the Populist Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court and of other prominent Populists. Its character may be sampled from the declaration that the recent decision of the highest judicial tribunal in the Nebraska railroad case "is an unclean victory in every aspect of the case, showing that, no matter how carefully the robes of justice are folded about the personnel of the Supreme Court, these robes can no longer conceal the cloven hoof of official malfeasance and usurpation." Gov. Leedy has decided to call a special session of the Kansas Populist Legislature to pass a maximum-rate bill of his own, which the Supreme Court cannot set aside without reversing its decision in the Nebraska case; and he serves notice that, "if the Court still pursues the corrupt and rotten practice that it has heretofore, by changing its decisions to suit the shifting interests of the railroad corporations, the remedy will be with the people in their dealings with the courts, or in building railroads of their own." The Republicans of Kansas will welcome this Populist plan of campaign. Leedy and his administration are already much discredited, and public sentiment has shown itself so much opposed to the extra-session scheme that the party must inevitably suffer from the unnecessary assembling of the Legislature.

Gov. Black is succeeding beautifully in his plans for the suppression of the inquiry as to the manner in which Superintendent Aldridge has spent $9,000,000 in improving the canals. Over two months have passed and a beginning has not been made. One month was consumed in convincing the Legislature that the inquiry should be taken out of its hands and placed in those of the Governor. The Governor has been empowered for a month to select a commission to do the work. He has asked the Chamber of Commerce to select some persons to go on the commission, and it has done so. Still, no commission has been appointed. It is discovered now that the bill, drawn to meet the Governor's personal wishes in the matter, requires that the members of the commission shall serve without pay, and provides only $10,000 for all expenses incurred in the inquiry. Under these unfavorable conditions, the Governor is said to be meeting with difficulty in finding men who are willing to go on the commission, and he is deeply pained by this fact. When it is borne in mind that the commission will be without power to compel the attendance of witnesses, or in other ways to secure valuable testimony, it is not strange that nobody of consequence cares to go upon it. Something

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of this kind was foreseen when the Governor's plan was proposed, but he had it "jammed through" just the same, and the outcome vindicates his perspicacity. The inquiry is safely side-tracked till after election, and that was the main object to be accomplished.

The members of our Municipal Assembly from the Boroughs of Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond are in a very enviable position as regards the use of city money for the Birth Celebration. The Mayor is in favor of an appropriation of $50,000 as a starter for the celebration, and a resolution recommending it has been presented in both houses. Under the charter, no money can be expended in this way except "by the votes of four-fifths of all members elected to each house." This places a veto power in the hands of one more than a fifth of the members in each house, or six in the Council and thirteen in the Board of Aldermen. Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond have thirteen members of the Council and twenty-four members of the Board of Aldermen. They have ample power, therefore, to hold up the appropriation indefinitely, and this they are determined to do. The Mayor has been very rigid in enforcing economy upon these boards, and has refused to allow them what they regard as adequate funds for setting their borough machinery in operation. Their turn has come now. They say that if economy is a good thing, the more of it the better, and that one man should not have a monopoly of indulgence in it. When the Mayor becomes convinced that there has been too much economy in the distribution of public money for the boroughs outside the old city limits, they will be able to take the view that it is not inconsistent with true economy to use $50,000 or more of the public money for a Birth Celebration. Their position is a fine one, and we congratulate them heartily upon it. As a demonstration of the "home rule" possibilities of the new charter it is quite the most striking yet made.

Monday's heavy engagements of gold in Europe, for importation to the United States, bring the total imported or engaged within the past three weeks to $21,000,000. This large and sudden importation, though doubtless emphasized by foreign purchases of our securities in the recent break of prices, is fundamentally a response to the money-market situation. The merchandise movement between this and foreign countries had, it is true, created a large credit balance in favor of the United States. But throughout last year, and during the first month of the present year, this balance was quite offset by the difference in discount rates between our own and foreign markets. During recent months, in fact, the London rate for time loans had ruled actually above the New York rate. This situation made it both feasible and profitable for sterling bankers, instead of forwarding maturing bills to London for collection, to extend such bills through the use of funds raised in the New York money market. The result of this process was that, despite the large merchandise exports of last autumn, sterling exchange continued close to international parity, and the movement of gold was inconsiderable.

As it was the action of the money markets which made this situation possible, so it was the money markets which, three weeks ago, prevented its longer continuance. Active interior demand for money, in connection with the expanding trade exchanges of the West and South, foreshadowed a change in the New York money market more than a month ago. The recent uneasiness over the Cuban situation—causing, as such misgivings always do, a greater caution among the lending institutions—hastened and emphasized the coming change. The result was an abrupt advance in short-time money at New York from 3½ to 4½ or 5 per cent. Immediately, as will be inferred, the "holding-back" of sterling drafts became unprofitable. It was cheaper for foreign debtors on exchange to borrow in London than in New York, and for holders of unemployed capital there was a more remunerative field in the United States than in Great Britain. The fall in foreign exchange, and the consequent heavy remittances of foreign gold, were a logical result. Presumably, if the "war scare" subsides, it will be found that international balances and money market parities have been again restored. For by precisely this mechanical process just described European capital has supplied the needs of the local discount market while foreign borrowings in that market were reduced. The rate for loans in New York would, therefore, logically grow easier, even while the London rate was rising; a double movement which must render less and less profitable the further continuance of the drain from that market to the United States.

Sir William Harcourt's observation that England had no great trade interests at stake in countries where the people wear no clothes, goes far towards explaining the fact that English anxiety about affairs in China is so much greater than over occurrences in the Niger country. In Africa it is largely a question of securing strategic positions for the distant future; of making ready for colonists yet to be. But in China, opening now to the world in spite of herself, there already exists a vast market, and one which is capable of almost indefinite expansion. Capt. Younghusband's article on Mantchuria in the last *Nineteenth Century* indicates the remarkable richness and promise of the province into which the Russians are now pushing their way. Here are the greatest forests of the best timber now left untouched on the earth's surface. Here are navigable rivers piercing the land in all directions; coal and mineral deposits; a soil well fitted for a varied agriculture; a hardy population numbering 20,000,000, in a province that might easily, Capt. Younghusband says, support 40,000,000. The imperilling of British trade, present and future, in such a region as this is a much more serious affair than a conflict over some wretched African outposts at Brussa. Yet the Russians are taking possession of Mantchuria with the slow push of fate. They already have nibbled away the land on the north; they already have possession of the chief seaports; by railroad building and the steady incursion of traders they make it clear that they mean ultimately to control everything. Who is to prevent them? China confesses herself unable to do it. Lord Salisbury, in broken health, is scarcely the man to challenge the Russian advance in Mantchuria. He is much more likely to propose, in the line of Mr. Curzon's guarded suggestion the other day, the seizure of other parts of Chinese territory as an offset to Russian predominance in the North.

The result of the latest referendum in Switzerland was the decision, made by an overwhelming vote on February 20, that all the railroads should be bought and managed by the Confederation. This was the more surprising as recent elections had all gone against centralized powers of government. A proposed Federal bank, a Federal monopoly of the match industry, larger control of the military by the general Government, had all been voted down. But the nationalization of the railroads went through with remarkable ease. The arguments which persuaded the voters seem not to have been based upon absolute reason. The question of buying the roads was skilfully mixed up with that of fixing the rates for freight and passengers. Every voter has dreamed of free transportation and frequent excursion trains, when once a benevolent Government got things in its own hands. Then there was the appeal to national pride. Were the free and independent Switzers going to let foreigners draw 6 per cent. on Swiss railroad bonds, and fix rates at their pleasure? No, said the indignant voters; we will buy the railroads of the foreigners, borrowing the money of them to do it, and making them take less than 6 per cent. on the loan, if they kindly will. And we will at once put down the rates, unless we have to keep them up in order to pay the interest on the money with which we buy the railroads.

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THE GRANT OF FIFTY MILLIONS.

The country has now voted $50,000,000 for national defence, but against what or whom must we defend ourselves? No man speaking with authority at Washington or anywhere else has said. We are absolutely in the dark as to who is going to attack us and why. Some of the Congressmen who have talked with the President may have been given to understand his reasons for wishing to put the country in a state of defence; but if so, they have not stated what those reasons are, nor has the President. Whatever favored Congressmen may know or suspect, whatever the President's advisers may keep locked in their breasts, the people as a whole have not one authentic word to guide them as to the policy of the Administration respecting Cuba, either in the past or in the future.

We will not say that this is a ridiculous or preposterous situation, but shall content ourselves with pointing out how unprecedented it is. It is safe to assert that no monarch or ministry could get from the merest semblance of a Parliament $50,000,000 for war purposes without one lisp why it was needed and against whom. Mr. Cleveland, at the time of the Venezuelan upheaval, asked for only $100,000, but even for that trifle he felt compelled to lay the whole correspondence before Congress. But there is a still closer precedent in the action of our Government at the time of the former Cuban rebellion and our threatened intervention. Secretary Fish sent a very important communication to Madrid on November 5, 1875. It did not lead to war, though it might easily have done so. It did lead to strained relations with Spain, and the rumors about the negotiations caused great uneasiness in Congress and throughout the country. Towards the end of January, 1876, Congress called upon the Secretary of State for the correspondence, and it was promptly laid before the House. If there was a reason for war or a danger of war, Congress then felt that it and the country were entitled to know it. Congress and the country seem content now to rest in entire ignorance.

The Cuban correspondence of Mr. Fish (Senate Doc. 213, 54th Cong., 1st Session) is interesting reading for other reasons. It shows how almost every phase of the present troubles was then met and peacefully disposed of. This is reassuring. Still more reassuring is it to find that President Grant took a definite position in November, which looked straight to war, and abandoned it in March, when by doing so peace could be promoted. On November 5, 1875, Mr. Fish wrote to Caleb Cushing, our Minister at Madrid, that the President had a "firm conviction" that "whatever might be the vicissitudes of the struggle, and whatever efforts might be put forth by the Spanish power in Cuba, no doubt could be entertained that the final issue of the conflict would be to break the bonds which attached Cuba as a colony to Spain." But by March 1, 1876, President Grant had come to admit that "discovery and long occupation have made the island a possession of Spain, and the United States has no desire to disturb the relations which result therefrom." If a Grant could thus change front, may not even a McKinley waver?

There lives in honorable retirement in Princeton, N. J., a statesman whose fame, in spite of errors and defects, will, we believe, grow, and deservedly grow, for many generations. One of the most courageous and patriotic acts of his illustrious career was the issue of bonds, beginning with the contract of 1895, in order to procure money to save the national credit and ward off a business panic. It saved us from a genuine commercial catastrophe of the first order. He made a vain attempt to have these bonds made expressly payable in gold. For this transaction he was loaded with such abusive blackguardism as has seldom been heaped on a public man. Everything Republican orators and journals could do to make his loan a failure was done. Epithets of the grossest kind were poured on him. The illustrious Lodge joined the Populists and mining Senators in heaping vituperation on him. The contract under which the loan was made, Lodge, "the conscientiously equipped literary man," pronounced "on its face the blackest public contract ever made by the Government of the United States." The loan was a success, and gold came into the Treasury. When the Republican national convention met at St. Louis in 1896, its platform followed up the cue furnished by the Republican Congressmen. It said, speaking of Mr. Cleveland's administration:

> "It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by $262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule."

Well, if Mr. Cleveland had not borrowed that money, there would be none in the Treasury to-day except what has been received from the Pacific railroads. The vote of $50,000,000 for national defence would have been a *brutum fulmen* unless the President had been authorized to borrow it by the sale of bonds. The silly boasting about it as "surplus" is purely mendacious. It is borrowed money left over from Mr. Cleveland's administration. It may be right and proper to use it, as it is being used, for purposes of national defence; it may be right and proper to give the President discretion in spending it, but it is wrong to lie about it. The *Tribune* of Thursday published complacently the following extract from the *Daily Bondbuyer:*

> "Nothing in all history, ancient or modern, can be regarded as a parallel to the vote of the United States Congress giving President McKinley authority to expend in his own discretion $50,000,000 of the surplus gold in the United States Treasury for the national defence."

The rhodomontade of this needs no characterization; but it is also mendacious, and, by quoting it without comment, the *Tribune* makes itself a partner in the falsehood. There is no "surplus gold" in the Treasury. There is some borrowed gold in the Treasury. To call it "surplus" is a bald falsehood. One hundred times in history, both ancient and modern, rulers of states have been given borrowed money to use for military purposes, as our ruler has been.

On Tuesday of last week, Mr. Cannon of Illinois, chairman of the committee on appropriations, joined the ignoble herd of falsifiers and perverters as follows:

> "Now, a word in conclusion. We have got the money in the Treasury to meet this appropriation if it is expended, and that, too, without resorting, in our opinion, to further taxation. Therefore, there is no coupling with this a proposition that would probably be made in most countries in the world under similar circumstances to levy additional taxes to meet the expenditure. I say again, we are satisfied that revenues to be yielded from present revenue laws will afford sufficient money to meet this expenditure and, in addition thereto, the ordinary expenditures of the government." [Applause.]

Almost every line of this statement contains an attempt to deceive. The suggestion that we have got this money in the Treasury, and, therefore, shall not need, if it is expended, to resort to "further taxation," is an undoubted *suggestio falsi.* First, Mr. Cannon tries to make it appear that this money is the product of taxation. It is not. It is the product of a loan made by Mr. Cleveland, as Mr. Cannon well knows. Second, he tries to make it appear that if other countries had this amount of borrowed money in the Treasury, they would not spend it, but would levy fresh taxes. This is untrue on its face. Third, he tries to make it appear that the present revenue law has produced, or will produce, this amount of surplus, when he knows well that the revenue has, since June 30, fallen short of ordinary expenditures by $52,254,617. There is, therefore, a deficit, not a surplus, of that amount in the Treasury, and but for Mr. Cleveland's loan the Government would be now borrowing money, not only for national defence, but for ordinary expenses.

It is shocking to the moral sense that at such a moment, when we are all supposed to be more than usually impressed with a sense of public duty, when one of the most solemn problems which can arise in the life of a nation is pressing on us for solution, the leading men of a great party, and its leading journals, should fall to lying like clockwork about

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the national finances. It is still worse that their lying should be that unusual, base kind which involves the slander and depreciation of a great citizen, whose silence in the presence of it all reflects far more credit on us than our readiness to hand over the money with which he has provided us to President McKinley without restriction. That we have among us one man who, after having done his duty and deserved well of the republic, can bear being lied about without a sign even of amusement, is worth more to us than half-a-dozen battle-ships.

AFTER INTERVENTION—WHAT?

The speeches exchanged by President McKinley and the new Spanish Minister on Saturday were brimful of peace on earth and good will towards men. Each pledged himself to do all in his power to promote the cordial relations existing between the two countries. Mr. McKinley was very impressive in declaring his intention to do so, and he was evidently sincere. It is to be noted, however, that while this exchange of courtesies was taking place, the stock market was "going all to pieces," and that the newspapers of Sunday morning, even those that are the least sensational in tone, published more than a full page of news items about preparations for war. Among these was an interview with Gen. Wesley Merritt, who professed his willingness to undertake the invasion of Cuba with 25,000 to 30,000 men.

This was an extraordinary outgiving from a high officer of the army, and would subject him to a severe reprimand under like circumstances in any country of Europe. It is in keeping, however, with our slap-dash way of doing the largest things, such as appropriating $50,000,000 to be expended in the sole discretion of the President. Whether Gen. Merritt's idea of the size of the army needed for the successful invasion of Cuba is right or wrong, it raises the question what is to be accomplished by an invasion of Cuba. There are perhaps 100,000 Spanish troops in the island, the remainder of the 250,000 sent thither having succumbed to disease and the hardships of the service. It may be presumed that those who remain are acclimated and able to stand a good deal of pounding. Presuming that Gen. Merritt's 25,000 men would all escape the diseases of a tropical and malarious climate, and would dispose of the Spanish troops still there, what next?

There was a statement published in Havana the other day, signed by prominent citizens thereof, to the effect that 80 per cent. of the property of the island was owned by men who were not only opposed to the present rebellion, but opposed to autonomy also. This statement was published because the signers of it were opposed to Gen. Blanco's programme. They want the old system maintained, contrary to the declared wishes and purposes of Spain. Are we to put them down after we have disposed of the Spanish troops in the island? Supposing they should take arms to defend themselves against Gomez after the Spanish forces are wiped out or withdrawn. In the latter event there would be a republic in Cuba. All that prevents a republic in Cuba now is the Spanish authority. Remove that, and we have government by the majority, which is our ideal.

Even this simple thing has to be inaugurated and set going. In the case supposed, Gen. Merritt would be under the necessity of holding and administering in some fashion a territory 760 miles long—say, the distance from New York to Toledo—containing a population of 1,500,000, one-third being colored, and all unused to self-government, and the more intelligent part, as we have seen, opposed to that kind of government. In the event that we disestablish the present government we must put something in its place, and this must be done by elections. We must undertake in Cuba what we undertook in the South thirty-three years ago. It will be nothing short of reconstruction, but it will be more difficult than reconstruction in the Southern States was, because it must be imposed upon a people who do not speak our language, who do not think our ideas, and who will be sure to hate us if we try to coerce them. Add to these embarrassments the fact that the Cubans are Roman Catholics, while we are mostly Protestants, and we have as many incongruities as the British had originally in India. But there is this difference in the two cases. British rule in India in the first instance was the despotism of a private trading company, irresponsible to the last degree. We have nothing in our system of government which corresponds to it. We have no way of ruling a dependency except by the ballot. We should be obliged to impose upon Cuba, in the case supposed, what we actually imposed on the South after the civil war—that is, carpet-baggers, negro suffrage, and a chaos of institutions; and we should get our pay eventually in the addition to our Congress of two Senators and ten or twelve Representatives no better, but perhaps worse, than those whom the South gave us during the reconstruction period. If a local revolution or a Kuklux régime should follow, such events would be in accord with the course of Spanish-American republics down to the present day and with well-remembered events in our own history.

We have been told—indeed, we are told every day or two—that President McKinley is about to send in to Congress a number of consular reports about the condition of affairs in Cuba which will so powerfully stir the feelings of our people that he will be compelled to intervene at once. If this be true, it is assuredly the part of wisdom not to send those reports to Congress at all, since the publication of them would not give us any rights, privileges, or powers that we do not now possess. We have been minding our own business until the present time, except so far as we have contributed to the relief of destitution in this island. If we are such a volatile people that we cannot bear to read tales of bloodshed and cruelty resulting from war in another country without rushing blindly to take part in it, then that is the best reason for keeping such exciting tales from the public ear. It is true that the Senate has called for these papers, if their production would not be incompatible with the public interests, but the President must judge whether such a communication is desirable at this time or not. If it is not desirable, the Senate resolution cannot excuse him for producing a state of feeling which may result in war. He should bear in mind, too, that a war which the conscience of the nation does not heartily support, a war which leaves a doubt in the mind of Christian men and women whether it is right for us to engage in it, is politically unwise and dangerous. The enthusiasm which the first smell of gunpowder creates will be a very feeble reliance unless it is sustained by the conviction of substantial citizens that we are following an imperative call to duty; that we have weighed the consequences, and that we have well considered what we are to do after we shall have successfully intervened in Cuba and assumed the responsibility of governing it.

"SUSPENSION OF JUDGMENT."

Capt. Sigsbee of the *Maine*, in the first moments of excitement after the explosion, telegraphed to us all for a "suspension of judgment" about the causes of the tragedy. What he meant was simply that we should not form an opinion about these causes until we were in possession of all the knowable facts. No request could be more reasonable and human. But to make an examination of the tragedy with a view to forming a rational opinion about it, far from suspending our judgment, we ought to keep it in constant activity. Judgment means the faculty of the mind which discovers the relations between ideas and facts, or between different facts. Judgment is a constant collector and comparer of facts with other facts, or of facts with ideas. It is necessary almost at every moment of our existence. We need judgment in ordering our dinner, in crossing the crowded streets, or in buying a newspaper at the stand. A man without judgment is an imbecile, and a man who "suspends his judg-

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ment" is a man who proposes to act like an imbecile.

There never has been a time in our history when the constant use of our judgment was more necessary than at this crisis. Those who have "suspended their judgment" during the last two or three weeks are either fools or knaves. In the first place, we have to use judgment, as we have said, in forming an opinion as to the cause of the explosion, and the first step to be taken for this purpose is the collection of facts and probabilities bearing on explosions on board men-of-war in general, and then on this explosion on board of this man-of-war in particular. The man who pays no attention to these facts or probabilities "suspends his judgment," and sinks to the level of the animal. An elephant feels a thorn in his foot; he looks up and sees a man near by; he concludes that it is the man who has pricked him, and, owing to the absence of judgment, rushes at him and kills him. A rascally newspaper man dislikes Spaniards, or wants a war to help to sell his paper, or is "short" of stocks and wants a fall, so "he suspends his judgment" and says the Spaniards blew up the *Maine*. If he finds the people do not believe him, he invents "proofs," and sells them at a cent a dozen. In other words, he pretends that his judgment is at work when he has really suspended it for purposes of his own, and is simply lying. In fact, "suspension of judgment," whenever there are any signs of war, takes place with us on a scale which is most alarming in a country in which public opinion is expressed through the newspapers. The ideal use of the press would be the giving of assistance to the public in the use of its judgment, by furnishing it with the facts and considerations necessary to make up its mind rationally—that is, under the laws of proof. The actual object of the Jingo press is to confuse the public mind by producing facts that are not facts and proofs that do not prove. So that a large portion of the "news" is very like raw meat for wild beasts. It makes them roar and lash their tails, and makes reason seem unnatural or ridiculous.

It must be said, however, that it is not only the Jingo newspapers which are to blame in this matter. Congress is nearly as much given to suspension of judgment about war as the press. When any President proposes a war to Congress, it hardly ever asks, "Why should we go to war? What has happened to make it desirable? Can we not get along without it? It will involve great loss of life and destruction of property." The Constitution intends that it should ask these questions, but it never asks them. There is no more *discussion* of war in the Legislature than in an Ojibway council. Judgment is instantly "suspended," and it says to the President, "Here is $50,000,000. Kill as many men as you can with it, and destroy as much property. You can tell us why you did it when it is all over." If judgment remained active, the two houses would find out first why there had to be a war, and whether there was not another way to the same end. Then they would examine our means of offence and defence, the state of our armament by land and sea, the extent of the enemy's resources, and, having ascertained all this, would say to the President: "Yes, by the exercise of our judgment, we have discovered that our quarrel is just, and that by employing force we shall probably attain our end, and we see clearly that no other course is open to us. But we cannot suspend our judgment at your request. The Constitution forbids it, and so do religion and humanity."

One of the greatest differences, not only between men and animals, but between adults and children, is the possession of this power of judgment by men and its absence in beasts and boys. It is through judgment that men learn fear of consequences. It is owing to want of judgment that horses run away, cows get mired, elephants tear down fences, and boys leave home to become bandits. Of all the acts performed by a nation, going to war with another nation is the most solemn and far-reaching in its consequences. Currency bills, tariffs, immigration laws, force bills, interstate commerce laws, are all trifling in comparison. None of them has results which can for one moment be compared to the results of war—the moral, material, and financial results. And yet there is no national act which is determined on with so little judgment. You could to-day get twice as much consideration from Jingoes for the purchase of a railroad or the improvement of a harbor as for a proposal to kill thousands of Spaniards and burn their houses. Why this should be we do not pretend to know. The ordinary explanation of philosophers is, the survival of the combative instinct of primitive savagery; but why has this savage instinct survived in this one field of human activity and not in others? I get my living by spinning, or weaving, or digging, and not by hunting or fishing. I treat my wife with tenderness, and relieve her of all hard work, instead of beating her and smoking in the sun while she toils. I send my children to school and church, instead of training them to take scalps and burn houses. I put the old in refuges, instead of leaving them to perish by starvation. I sit by the hour listening to a man, to whom I pay a salary, advising me to forgive my enemies, to cultivate charity, to return good for evil, to visit the widows and the fatherless in their affliction. Why, then, do I occasionally rush out and, with loud yells, make as many widows and fatherless as I can, and urge any blackguard I meet to tell me stories that will make me more bloodthirsty and unforgiving? We do not know. It is one of the great mysteries of the universe, including human nature.

THE MORALITY OF CROWDS.

A Frenchman, M. Le Bon, last year produced a book entitled the 'Psychology of Crowds,' which, though containing many extravagant generalizations, especially in the latter part, is well worth reading in connection with any study of the phenomenon which is now occupying so much of our attention, called "yellow journalism." As we see to-day, in spite of all the ridicule that has been lavished on the "yellow journals," in spite of the daily exposure of their lying, in spite of the general acknowledgment of the mischief they do, in spite of the general belief in the baseness and corruption and satanism of their proprietors, their circulation is apparently as large as ever. The Government and decent people are still obliged, as much as ever, to keep contradicting their "fake" stories and to keep reassuring the public against their alarms. There is a widespread belief that one of them is short of "stocks"; that another has, just as if he were the devil himself, laid a large wager that he will bring on a war within a certain period. None of these things seems to produce much, if any, effect. We made inquiries the other day, about their sales, of a newsdealer in a small suburban village. He told us he sold 150 of the yellowest, 110 of the next yellowest, 10 of the most blackguardly and unscrupulous, only 2 of the *Tribune*, and 1 of the *Times;* this after the yellows had been notoriously lying and trying to bring on a war for over two weeks. There was probably hardly one of these purchasers who, if questioned individually, would not confess that he did not believe a word he read in his paper. Yet it would be found on further talk about Cuba and the war, and the duty of our nation, and the conduct of the Spaniards, that his opinions on all these subjects, or on nearly all, had acquired a distinctly yellow tinge. You would not come across, in any of them, any signs that he had been seeking light at any of the sources from which civilized and Christian men are usually supposed to ask guidance about either public or private affairs, under trying circumstances.

M. Le Bon has an explanation of this which is at least worth attention. He treats a "crowd" as something entirely different psychologically from the individuals composing it—with different morals, different standards of belief, different views of expediency, complete indifference to the laws, customs, and traditions even of their own civilization. Of course, at an earlier period every one was familiar with all these as characteristics of what is called a "mob."

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But, according to M. Le Bon, a considerable number of them have been transferred to a portion of the vast masses of electors by whom every democratic country is now ruled. He argues against the way in which some writers have condemned the conduct of crowds under *all* circumstances. "The crowd," he says, "is often criminal, without doubt, but also it is often heroic. It is crowds that are most easily presuaded to give their lives for the triumph of an idea or belief, and that can be most easily roused into enthusiasm for glory or honor."

Le Bon defines a "crowd" as a body of persons animated by the same thoughts and desires, for reasons they cannot formulate, which as individuals they would probably largely ridicule or repudiate. Under this definition, we may fairly call the victims of the greenback "craze" or the silver "craze" a crowd. It will undoubtedly also cover the readers of the yellow journals, and the Jingoes generally. All these persons desire war for reasons they cannot state, or which as individuals they would disown. War is, now that slavery and polygamy are gone, the last relic of a barbarous world. It remains, unhappily, owing to the weakness of human nature, the only mode, in the last resort, of deciding disputes between nations. Three hundred years ago or later, it occupied a higher place than this, for it was a favorite amusement of kings and nobles. "I have loved war too much," said Louis XIV. on his deathbed. Every king had his wars, as he had his chase, and the Lodges and Roosevelts of those days kept halberds and crossbows over their mantelpieces, ready to be taken down whenever the King called on them to help him to punish some "insult" or seize some territory. The education of young men was mainly military. Killing people was considered the only profession fit for a gentleman. The whole modern world was infected with the same disease. The Roman idea that the proper use of war was to subjugate and introduce a higher civilization, gave way to the mediæval one, that the proper use of war was to humiliate somebody and show your power. A long war was waged between Bologna and Modena about the possession of a wooden bucket, which Tassoni, an Italian poet, has burlesqued in a delightful poem. In fact, from the year 500 to the year 1800 war seems to have been considered the chief end of man.

Since 1800 better ideas have taken possession of the world. It is true, armaments are larger than ever, but every Power protests its dislike of war and its firm determination to use its force only for defensive purposes. But it is, of course, impossible to deny to a great nation the influence which comes from the possession of great strength. Every nation is entitled to profit, even materially, by the civic virtues, the courage, foresight, prudence, skill, and political sagacity which have built it up, and we are far from alleging that a nation like the United States, or England, or Germany has not the right to keep "a mailed fist" ready to enforce, if necessary, its own ideas of law and justice. But the ideas it enforces should be those of law and justice, and the use of the "mailed fist" should be resorted to only when all else has been tried and failed. It should never be forgotten that war is and must always be a judgment in your own cause, or, in other words, on its face a violation of one of the first principles of morality. Therefore, the greater the Power, the greater should be the morality behind the Power. No killing or house-burning any more, except as a dreadful and last necessity. No fights between nations over trifles light as air, or over barbarous notions about the impalpable thing called "honor," any more than between duellists. The necessity of war should be plain and its issue reasonably certain.

If all this be true, it is easy to imagine the wonder with which civilized men saw, three or four years ago, the beginning in America, of all countries in the world, of the Jingo movement, which maintained that war was a means of moral discipline; that national character suffered for want of war; that love of war should be taught even to children in order to make war easy. For two whole years these Jingoes hunted poor Mr. Cleveland towards war; even chaplains prayed that legislators might have a real swashbuckler temper. Since his time this bellicose mood has been kept alive by the Cuban affair, but the military gospel was losing some of its absurdities until the *Maine* explosion took place and the yellow journals began to sit on the matter. The "craze" then passed one stage further, and Le Bon's "crowd" appeared on the scene in its fullest development.

A leading Western paper, the Detroit *Tribune*, lately published an article which King Clovis might have written, had he known how to write, advocating war for business reasons, and showing that war is profitable, if not too big—views distinctly belonging to the year 500, and an extraordinary mixture of economical ignorance and animal ferocity. In the phrase, "That there is profit in war could not be so widely believed if it were not true," there is an illustration of M. Le Bon's theory—so apt that we are sending it over to him for the next edition of his book. If we went to any one of the individuals composing this editor's "crowd" and said to him, "Your business, you say, is languid and the future uncertain. Now, if I can show you that it can be greatly improved by killing a few men and burning three or four inhabited houses, will you come and help me to do it?" he would probably eject us from his premises with indignation. But when "the crowd" says it, he believes it must be true, and that it is a perfectly proper mode of improving the times. Every man of the crowd probably has a wife whom he loves and children that are the delight of his life. He sympathizes deeply with other husbands and fathers. If you proposed to him to work off his woollens or cottons by killing a few of them, he would be shocked. But when "the crowd" proposes it, he sallies out and makes all the widows and orphans he can, and gloats with his neighbors over the sorrow and destruction he causes.

A NEW CHARTER FOR BALTIMORE CITY.

BALTIMORE, March 11, 1898.

Like the earlier flat towns of provincial Maryland, Baltimore Town was designed essentially as a market-place and entrepôt, where local traffic could be carried on, imports be entered, exports be cleared, and public dues and taxes be paid. It was endowed with no exceptional political or civil privileges, and had virtually no organic life of its own. Not until 1796, sixty-seven years after its erection as a town, were corporate life and privileges conferred. During the greater part of this period, administration remained vested in a board of designated commissioners, holding permanent tenure and filling their own vacancies—practically, a standing committee of the General Assembly. At the close of the Revolutionary war, Baltimore Town had clearly outgrown its original administrative shell. A form of government devised for a port of entry and strained to satisfy the needs of a straggling village was manifestly inadequate for an incipient city. A measure of local self-consciousness had developed with the events of the war, and, after a series of unsuccessful attempts, Baltimore City was incorporated by an act of the General Assembly, on the last day of December, 1796. A supplementary statute of the following year made the act of incorporation perpetual.

For one hundred years, this original charter has remained the basis of the corporate government of Baltimore. Its practical significance has long been reduced to a minimum by the mass of amendatory legislation enacted by successive General Assemblies. But it has never been displaced by a second fundamental instrument. The Constitution of Maryland of 1867 incorporated certain important features of the existing city government, but expressly reserved to the General Assembly the right of subsequent legislative control. From time to time, the accumulation of amendatory legislation has become intolerable, and relief has been afforded by the codification and incorporation into the statute law of Maryland of all laws relating to Baltimore. It is the latest of such codifications (article 4, "City of Baltimore," of the Public Local Laws of Maryland, 1888), together with a very considerable number of supplementary statutes since enacted, that constitute the actual "charter" of Baltimore. It has been described by a distinguished jurist of this city as "an incongruous medley of constitutional provisions and statutes enacted at various times, and often for merely temporary purposes." To this might be added the equally conservative statement that no city in the United States has labored for so long a period under

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a more antiquated, cumbrous, and inadequate instrument of government.

Intelligent agitation for a thorough revision of the charter culminated, last November, in the passage of an ordinance authorizing the newly elected city executive, Mayor Malster, to appoint an unpaid commission of eight persons to draft a new charter for the city of Baltimore, to be submitted to the General Assembly for enactment into law at the current session. Mayor Malster at once appointed a model "New Charter Commission," incidentally arousing by the excellence of his selections widespread anticipation of a reform administration—a sentiment which has excited keen interest in the course of subsequent events. The personnel of the commission was as follows: Hon. William Pinkney Whyte, who has served acceptably as Mayor of Baltimore and as Governor of Maryland; Hon. Ferdinand C. Latrobe, who enjoys the distinction of having been seven times elected to the mayoralty, and who is intimately acquainted with every phase of municipal development; Dr. Daniel C. Gilman, President of the Johns Hopkins University; Mr. Samuel D. Schmucker, and Mr. George R. Gaither, jr., skilled lawyers of the city; City Solicitor Thomas Ireland Elliott; City Councillor Thomas G. Hayes, and City Attorney Lewis Putzel. The commission was bi-partisan in composition, and at once commanded public confidence and respect. It is within bounds to state that embarrassment would be experienced in attempting to select eight other citizens of Baltimore as familiar with the defects of the local political framework, or better fitted to suggest measures of improvement. The commission organized promptly by electing ex-Gov. Whyte chairman, and appointing Mr. Frederick T. Dorton Secretary, and at once set to work. The time available for the completion of the work was little more than three months; but by intelligent division of labor, harmonious coöperation, and extraordinary industry and devotion, a new instrument has been drafted within that period and submitted to the General Assembly within the past week.

The new charter represents a conservative adaptation of accepted principles of municipal reform to local requirements and established usage. In very few respects has there been a complete or radical departure from the administrative forms to which the citizens of Baltimore have long been accustomed. On the other hand, recognized elements of municipal improvement have been intelligently incorporated, and the influence of recent municipal reconstruction in the United States, notably in New York city, has been decided. The most important principles which have consciously governed the commission in the preparation of the charter, are:

(1.) Location of definite responsibility upon the Mayor and all public officials.

(2.) Minority representation and concentration of administrative duties in departmental boards.

(3.) Separation of municipal from State and federal elections.

(4.) Appointment of experts in all departments requiring professional knowledge and skill.

(5.) Municipal control of public franchises.

(6.) Check upon municipal expenditure and indebtedness.

(7.) Removal of the public-school system from all possible political influence.

(8.) Public supervision of the indigent sick and poor while subjects of municipal aid.

The charter retains the traditional corporate framework—a Mayor and a bicameral Council. The term of the Mayor is extended from two to four years, and his salary and necessary property qualifications are increased. The lower chamber, or "First Branch," of the Council remains constituted of one member from each of the twenty-four wards of the city; but the term has been extended from one to two years. The upper chamber, or "Second Branch," heretofore composed of one member elected for two years from every two contiguous wards, has undergone important modification. The city is now to be divided into four "Councilmanic Districts," from each of which two Councilmen are to be elected for four years, one-half of the entire body retiring every second year. The President of the Second Branch is made an independent official, with the same property qualifications as the Mayor and receiving a salary considerably larger than the Councilmen proper, and is elected at large for a term of four years. Ordinances require for passage the votes of a majority of the members of each branch and the approval of the Mayor.

Fundamental characteristics of the new instrument are the concentration of power in the hands of the Mayor, and the unification of related departments of the municipal service. To this end, all administrative branches of the city government are arranged into departments, and subdivided into subdepartments, the heads of which are appointed by the Mayor. Regard for local conservatism prevented the Commission from vesting the power of absolute appointment in the Mayor, but the right of confirmation is transferred from the joint convention of the two branches to the Second Branch of the Council. The Mayor can remove any of his appointees without cause within the first six months of their term of office; thereafter only by preferring charges and after trial. The heads of departments and subdepartments are given absolute power of appointing and removing subordinates. They are also given the privilege of the floor of the First Branch of the Council, with the right to participate in the discussion of matters relating to their respective departments.

The departments of municipal administration, as provided by the charter, are: Finance, Law, Public Safety, Public Improvements, Public Parks and Squares, Education, Charities and Corrections, Review and Assessments. Under these are logically arranged as subdepartments the essential branches of the municipal service. In control of the department is a board, composed of the heads of its subdepartments. Thus, the Department of Public Improvements comprises four subdepartments—the City Engineer, the Water Board, the Harbor Board, and the Inspector of Buildings; while the Board of Public Improvements consists of the City Engineer, the President of the Water Board, the President of the Harbor Board, and the Inspector of Public Buildings. The subdepartments represent, with one or two noteworthy exceptions, existing municipal departments. Complexity has been reduced, and contradictions and duplications eliminated, but the endeavor of the Commission has throughout been to effect maximum improvement with a minimum wrench.

The nearest approach to radical change has been made in the financial department of the city government. The municipal budget has heretofore been prepared and submitted to the City Council by a joint "Ways and Means Committee" of the two branches. The new charter provides for the creation of an entirely new Board of Estimates, composed of the Mayor, the City Solicitor, representing the Department of Law; the Comptroller, representing the Department of Finance; the President of the Second Branch of the City Council, representing the legislative department; and the City Engineer, representing the Department of Public Improvements. The Board of Estimates is required to prepare and submit to the City Council in October of each year a precise estimate of the necessary appropriations for the next ensuing fiscal year, arranged in three distinct lists: (1) departmental estimates, (2) estimates for annual appropriations, (3) estimates for new improvements. The City Council may reduce, but not increase, the several amounts fixed by the Board, and may not insert any new item. In the same manner the Board of Estimates is required to submit to the City Council an estimate of the annual tax levy, which may be increased but not reduced by that body. Any ordinance authorizing a public improvement to exceed in cost the sum of two thousand dollars must be submitted, after its first reading in either branch of the Council, to the Board of Public Improvements, for report as to its desirability, and to the Board of Estimates, for report as to the ability of the municipal treasury to meet the expenditure, and no ordinance can become valid until both of these reports have been received. The danger of floating indebtedness is reduced by the provision that if municipal revenue is insufficient in any year, there must be a *pro-rata* reduction in all departments; any surplus accruing must be credited to the general sinking fund. A supplementary bill appended to the charter limits the bonded indebtedness of Baltimore to 7 per cent. of its taxable basis.

The administration of the public-school system also undergoes wholesome reconstruction. The existing board of twenty-two Commissioners (one from each ward), appointed by the City Council, is replaced by a smaller body of nine Commissioners, appointed at large by the Mayor for a term of six years, one-third of the entire body retiring every two years. This board in turn appoints a Superintendent of Public Instruction, six or more Assistant Superintendents, and a number of unpaid school visitors.

In placing the municipal elections in May, distinct from the autumn State and federal elections; in providing expert service in departments wherein technical and professional skill is necessary; and in exercising municipal control over municipal franchises, the Commission has incorporated accepted principles of municipal reform. The provisions concerning franchises limit the grant of specific rights in or relating to public property to a term of twenty-five years, subject upon revaluation to renewals for a not longer period. In such grants the municipality may reserve the right to assume control of the plant, with or without further compensation, upon the termination of the franchise period.

Viewed in its entirety, the proposed charter is an admirable instrument, eminently creditable to the intelligence and conservatism of its authors. If enacted in its present form, it may not effect immediate reforma-

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tion in local administration, but it can hardly fail, as the Commission modestly claim, to "remedy many of the faults of the old law, and to provide such a law as will materially contribute to the future development and prosperity of the great metropolis of Maryland." The measure is now pending before the General Assembly in Annapolis. Intelligent sentiment is outspoken in its advocacy, and at this time of writing scarcely a voice has been lifted in opposition. A codification of existing local laws has been submitted for reënactment in conjunction with the new charter. The whole forms a volume of 350 printed octavo pages, and, with little more than a fortnight of the legislative session remaining, the mere bulk of the proposed legislation will perhaps serve as its most effective safeguard against mutilation. H.

CHARAVAY'S LAFAYETTE.—I.

PARIS, February 23, 1898.

There has been in existence for a few years a Society for the History of the French Revolution, which is very active, having already published eighteen octavo volumes on various topics. It may be said, in a sense, that everything is interesting in history, but some of these volumes have more value than others. M. Aulard, who lectures at the Collège de France on the subject of the French Revolution, which he has made his special subject, is one of the chief contributors. He has published the 'Secret Memoirs of Foumier l'Américain,' which might perhaps, be as well forgotten, as this Foumier was no better than a crazy fanatic; the 'Register of the Deliberations of the Provisory Consulate'; the 'Account of the Sittings of the Deputies of the Communes, from the 5th of May, 1789, to the following 12th of June'; 'The State of France in the Year VIII. and the Year IX.' We find among these volumes some valuable documents, such as the 'Members of the Convention,' the 'Regicides,' 'Science during the Terror,' the 'Constituents,' the 'Members of the Imperial Nobility'—the Empire being evidently considered as a sequel of the Revolution.

A new volume has just appeared which is a complete biography of Gen. Lafayette. It has no less than 653 pages, and contains many illustrations, from engravings of the time. The author is not a writer, in the ordinary sense of the word; he makes no pretension to style, and, if he did, it would be unfounded. It is enough that his facts are exact. Exactitude, indeed, may be said to be his mission and his trade, for he entitles himself archivist-palæographer. M. Étienne Charavay is very well known as a great dealer in autographs and as an expert in graphology. (He was one of the experts in the Dreyfus trial.) His ambition grew among the autographs and the manuscripts by which he is constantly surrounded, and he thought of using, himself, some of the documents which fell into his hands. In a literary sense, his biography of General Lafayette may be said, without too much severity, to be very indifferent; as an historical document it is almost irreproachable, and I believe that very few errors of dates or of facts can be found in this account of a most eventful life, which extended from 1757 to 1834, and was involved in the most important events in two hemispheres.

The chief documents which have been used by M. Charavay are the 'Mémoires de ma main,' written by Lafayette himself, and published in 1837, by his son, with the letters which accompany them, a document of the first order; the administrative and historical archives of the Ministry of War, where is found the correspondence of Lafayette during the first campaign of 1792; M. Doniol's publication, 'History of the Participation of France in the Establishment of the United States of America,' a work in seven volumes which gives all there is to be found on the question in the archives of the Foreign Office and the Navy. M. Charavay has used also the work of Mr. Charlemagne Tower entitled 'The Marquis de Lafayette in the American Revolution,' the national archives, and various fragmentary publications. With all the respect that must be shown to the historical school, which pretends to be scientific and chiefly documentary, we have often to regret that our modern historians are somewhat too dry, too much lost in details, too much wanting in general ideas; they are photographers rather than painters. We know a great deal about Lafayette after we have taken the trouble to peruse M. Charavay's volume, but we feel that something is wanting: the General's psychology has not been analyzed; he is not sufficiently alive; the play of human passions, mental perplexities, conscientious doubts—all that cannot be enumerated, seems to have escaped and vanished.

Gen. Lafayette will always be judged from two different standpoints. In America, as he was moved only by the most generous and noble motives when he volunteered to join the cause of American independence, his American reputation, if I may say so, can suffer no blemish; his name, which occurs even in the geography of the States, will be remembered for all time with veneration. Americans can certainly be said to have among their national characteristics a strong sense of gratitude; even to this day, I know that any person having a family relationship with Lafayette is sure of a warm reception in all parts of the Union. The letters written by Washington to Lafayette at different times, which are given in M. Charavay's volume, testify to the feelings which the revered founder of American independence professed for the young Frenchman who had left all the pleasures of the most brilliant court in the world, to partake of the dangers of a people fighting for its liberties. This portion of Lafayette's career is so well known in America that I will not dilate on it. I would rather consider Lafayette in that portion which was spent in Europe. As a Frenchman, the part which he played, though it was always inspired by the most generous and disinterested motives, is open to criticism; and no wonder, for he lived in those dangerous times when it is often more difficult to discover the path of duty than to follow it. Lafayette was often called the "hero of two worlds"; in one of these the hero had a much more difficult task than in the other.

We find him on the eve of the French Revolution among the members of the Assembly of the Notables which had been convoked by Louis XVI. for the reform of the financial system. A letter published by M. Bardoux in 'La Jeunesse de La Fayette' shows him in these colors: "To-day we visited M. de La Fayette. . . . It seemed as if I were in America rather than in Paris. There were a number of Englishmen and Americans, for he speaks English like French. There was an American Indian in his costume, in place of a messenger. . . . This savage man calls him 'father.'. . . . Everything breathes of simplicity. Marmontel and the Abbé Morellet dined there." La Fayette figures in the list of the Notables as "Messire Marie-Paul-Joseph-Roche-Yves-Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de La Fayette, Maréchal des camps et armées du roi, major-général dans l'armée des États-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale." In the Assembly Lafayette introduced a memorial against the onerous contracts made by the state: "The millions abandoned to cupidity and depredation are the price of the tears and perhaps the blood of the people." The memorial ends with an appeal to "the justice and kindness which we know to be the natural sentiments of his Majesty." Lafayette was born with the feelings of the great English Whig families. He considered himself as the natural advocate of the people; but, far from being a demagogue, he was a born aristocrat, and all his instincts were aristocratic. It was said by the enemies of Lafayette that he bought some estates in Auvergne, in view of being made a duke, and that his opposition was caused at first by the fact that he did not get a dukedom. There are always mean people ready to find mean reasons; if Lafayette had been a duke, he would have been a duke with the sentiments of an English Whig duke; his behavior and his sentiments would not have been in the least affected by a royal favor which he would have considered a very natural one. The truth is, that he was essentially a liberal—so much so that, hearing the governor of the Dauphin, the Duke of Harcourt, speak of the books which ought to be placed in the hands of the young Prince, he said: "I believe that he would do well to begin the study of the history of France with the year 1787."

His popularity was very great. He wished to make extensive reforms in the state, but without convulsions. He took an active part in the provincial assemblies of Auvergne and in the second Assembly of the Notables. When the States-General was summoned, he was offered a nomination by what was called the *Tiers;* but he was a nobleman, and he refused it and was elected as a member of the nobility. (The Duke d'Orléans accepted a nomination by the Tiers, much to the disgust of the court and of the nobility.) His position was delicate in the States-General: he was elected by the nobility, his sentiments were those of the Tiers; he did not conceal them. When the three orders united in a National Assembly, he became freer. He was in the chair when the news arrived of the taking of the Bastille; he observed that "the dignity and the duty of the Assembly obliged it to continue calmly its deliberations." He did not approve of uprisings of the populace, but he would not separate himself from those who incited them, and he could not help feeling the intoxication of popularity. On the 15th of July, 1789, he was proclaimed by the people, "in the delirium of its enthusiasm" (such were his words), Commander-in-chief of the militia of Paris.

"I wished," he says, "to proceed to Versailles, but the chief of the city declared to me that, in order to save Paris, I must not go away for a moment. Forty thousand people are assembled; the fermentation is at its height; I appear, and a word disperses them. I have already saved the lives of ten persons

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who were on the point of being hanged in various quarters; but this furious and intoxicated people will not always hear me. At this writing eighty thousand persons surround the Hôtel de Ville and say that they are deceived, that the troops must not leave Paris, that the King ought to come. They will recognize only what I have signed. When I am not there their heads are turned."

It might be said that this formidable popularity turned Lafayette's head also. He was the real king of Paris, while Louis XVI. was the king of Versailles. He organized the National Guard with the help of Colonel Mathieu Dumas, and gave it the tricolor cockade, "which," he said, "will make the tour of the world."

The famous days of the 5th and 6th of October marked at once his triumph and the weakness of his ephemeral power. He was obliged to follow to Versailles the populace which intended to bring the King and the royal family back to Paris. With great difficulty he saved the King and the Queen; he had to appear on the balcony of the château, to speak to the infuriated crowd, and to promise to go back to Paris with the King. He had on this occasion one of those inspirations which speak more loudly to a crowd than words. He took Marie Antoinette on to the balcony, presented her to the people, and kissed her hand. The Queen had, not long before, been obliged to fly, half dressed, from her room; several of the Gardes du Corps had been murdered in defending the door of her apartment. The royal family returned to Paris under the protection of Lafayette. The King seemed to be his prisoner; he had himself become the prisoner of the Revolution. The fatal days of the 5th and 6th of October marked the beginning of the era of disorders which culminated in the horrors of the Terror.

Correspondence.

MINOR CONSEQUENCES OF WAR.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: No doubt many of the larger results of war for Cuba have been closely considered by the principal business men of our country. The large sums of money to be suddenly raised, the probable waste and expensive fiscal errors such necessities may involve, the far-reaching changes in manufacturing and commercial industries, all to be retraced after the war, with destruction to some and danger to all—all these subjects have no doubt been earnestly pondered by those who have most at risk.

Of course, the military success of such a war can be in no doubt. It would be a contest of national vigor against senility, of wealth against poverty, of unlimited credit against financial exhaustion, of seventy against seventeen millions of population, with three thousand miles of distance to restrict the already scanty resources of the weaker party. We must suppose that Cuba will inevitably and quickly be occupied, when we may expect annexation to be urged by every needy patriot in search of a job. Glory may be left out of the calculation.

The result of annexation on our national institutions, laws, and character may be inferred from the modifications all these have suffered from the recent creation of half-a-dozen fraudulent States without proportionate constituencies. But there are also certain minor consequences likely to be disastrous to localities, which are worth considering, especially by such localities. Take the State of Florida as an illustration. We may say, in general terms, that if that State be divided equally by an imaginary east and west line, it will be found that the inhabitants of the northern half are chiefly occupied either in nursing back to life their thrice destroyed orange cultivation, or in entertaining idle or well-to-do Northern visitors. Neither of those useful callings is likely to build up or sustain a very powerful Commonwealth. But the people of the southern, and at present the most growing, half now find almost their only industry either in illicit trade in contraband of war, or in manufacturing American tobacco into "Havana cigars" by importing and disguising it with a small proportion of the unrivalled Cuban leaf. On this last and principal industry the entire profit is maintained by the enormous American duties on finished cigars. But such duties will disappear with annexation, and all "Havana" cigars will again be made in Havana, as they were prior to the heavy duties caused by our civil war, which have ever since been maintained and occasionally increased.

For the United States at large that may be a small matter, not even comparable with the far greater loss, for instance, of the Cuban sugar duties. But of such prosperous centres of the Florida industry as Key West the result will be ruin. Its numerous factories and population must go, and with them the rapidly growing values of railroads, real estate, and all fixed improvements. The unprofitable drainage expenditure of millions by Mr. Disston and others has demonstrated that the southern half of Florida is chiefly an irreclaimable swamp. Hence to destroy or remove its only profitable industry is to reduce it to the uninhabited condition it had always retained till within a few years past. In that case, can the precarious industry of the northern half maintain the values placed there recently by Northern capitalists? Nay, can they maintain a State organization at all? or must not what is left of it become a corrupt political borough, like certain far Western "States," living on the sole industry of "politics," supported by Federal taxation wrung from other communities?

Will this inevitable result of annexation escape the Florida statesmen, or are they indifferent to it?

I. J. W.

Philadelphia, March 14, 1898.

OUR OWN NAVAL STATION IN THE PACIFIC.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In discussing the Hawaiian question some time ago in the *Nation*, I assumed that nobody would tolerate an argument that we ought to have a naval station in the Pacific for purposes of offensive war. Defensive reasons, I had imagined, would alone be urged. I perceive, however, that many of our patriots, of a more aggressive turn, demand a naval arsenal in those waters as the base of a sprightly campaign or two against China, or Japan, or Russia, or, at any rate, against the foreign shipping of the Pacific. Now, taking this argument seriously, where in all reason could we better locate such a station than on islands we already own, the Aleutians?

The Aleutian Archipelago (*Ultima Thule no longer*) is, it may surprise many to learn, almost within the path of all ships plying between our western coast and Asia. This is true whether the voyage is from San Francisco or from Seattle. In the former case the ship has but little farther to go until she reaches her course north and west of Seattle and skirts the Aleutians. Acquiring our geography from the flat maps of the schoolroom, we may, of course, be surprised to learn this, just as it was at first surprising to learn that a ship bound from New York to England must, apparently turning a corner, shave the coast of Newfoundland. It may also be surprising to be told that many of these islands are not further north than Dublin or Liverpool, and some of them further south. Enjoying the Japan current, the Gulf Stream of the Pacific, they possess a climate sufficiently genial for the works and habitation of civilized man. Nor are they deficient in safe refuge for vessels. Dutch Harbor, on one of them, is already a port well known to mariners, a stopping-place for all ships bound for the mouth of the Yukon, and a most important point for our revenue fleets in the south Alaskan waters, the Arctic, and the Bering Seas. Yet it is, at the same time, but a very little north of the course of almost the entire shipping between Asia and North America. If, then, we wish a naval station from which either to menace or protect that shipping, the location is the best attainable.

Against this what can be urged on behalf of Hawaii for similar uses? Is Hawaii in the path of all that valuable and rapidly increasing commerce? By no means. A ship calling at Honolulu, between either San Francisco or Seattle and Yokohama or Hong Kong must lose three or four days in doing so. Not one ship in a dozen—perhaps I might even say in twenty—calls at the Hawaiian Islands on such a voyage, whether coming or going. Both steam and sailing craft pass far to the north and close to the Aleutians. In the Australian shipping alone is Hawaii in the path of vessels. The Australian traffic, however, can make no pretensions to the volume of the Asiatic. As to their relative growth, at least, no one would institute a comparison. Not only this, but as a base of offensive operations against Asiatic countries, the Hawaiian Islands are several thousand miles further distant from those coasts than are the Aleutians, while they are not so near even to any part of our own. Consider also the rapid development of Alaska. Have we not that extensive coast to protect?

But our naval authorities want Hawaii. Of course they want Hawaii. Did any one ever know a place belonging to some one else that they did not want? Name a spot in the seas, name a port on any coast, and your naval authority can furnish you a respectable argument that we ought to have it ourselves. Did they not nearly commit us to the purchase of St. Thomas, from which we rescued ourselves by our national honor forfeited to the Danes? Every other country under the sun, we were told, had a few of the West Indies. If this country wished to hold up its head any longer, it must have some islands too. A country without islands was a poor, pitiful sort of a country. Besides, St. Thomas abounded in negroes and rum. Did we not stand in need of negroes? Did we not stand in need of rum? The naval arguments, in addition to these, were that the harbor of St. Thomas would have been of great ser-

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vice to us in the rebellion just past, and that when we should have another rebellion between the same parts of the country ages thence, St. Thomas must prove invaluable. Amiable gentlemen!

FREDERICK BAUSMAN.

SEATTLE, WASH., March 4, 1898.

WHO WILL TEACH THE TEACHERS?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The recent movement to establish better methods of teaching history in secondary schools will certainly bring little improvement as long as the teachers remain in their present ignorance of the facts of history. Under existing conditions there is great danger that improved methods will signify the substitution of mere trifling for solid work. I have noticed that candidates for admission to college who know most about methods, have too often learned little else. The pursuit of crazy notions has proved more attractive than grubbing in Oman. A more alarming symptom of this evil is to be found in the "Report of the first annual meeting of the New England History Teachers' Association." The committee who prepared it show in it their preference for Greek history; and yet, while proposing a highly technical plan of studying the history of ancient Greece in connection with other subjects, they betray an amazing ignorance of its simple facts. I have never before seen such an accumulation of obvious misstatements, distorted views, and long-antiquated hypotheses packed into so brief a space. Below are a few examples of these, with my corrections:

First we shall notice some model questions and answers to be used by teacher and pupils:

"Q. In what relation does the Peloponnesian war stand to preceding Greek history?
"A. It destroys the Confederacy of Delos."

The fact is that the Delian Confederacy ceased to exist twenty-three years at least before this war began.

"Q. In what relation does the Confederacy of Delos stand to preceding Greek history?
"A. It is one of the epochs in the development of the 'Democracy of Athens.'"

This answer is absurd. The Delian Confederacy was a phase of Greek federalism.

The answers to most of the other questions are equally faulty. We pass next to the "Perspectives?" or outlines for the use of pupils. On p. 26 the Committee say that "Lycurgus's constitution" resulted in the conquest of Peloponnesus. The truth is that the Lacedæmonians conquered Messenia, but not the rest of Peloponnesus. In the following passage, p. 27, referring to Solon, there is an accumulation of errors:

"Political Reforms.—Timocracy of four classes. Ecclesia admits all free citizens and controls magistrates by ἔυθυνα [for εὔθυνα]. These reforms only nominal, for four blood tribes are 'political bosses' who control votes in Ecclesia."

In fact, the timocracy of four classes was not a reform of Solon; the Assembly did not control magistrates in the manner stated; the comparison of the tribes with political bosses is grotesque; and the term "blood tribes" implies a misconception of the nature of the Greek tribe. Just below, the Committee declare that the Athenian Assembly had legislative power before Cleisthenes, whereas in reality it never exercised such power. On p. 35 they say that Athens fought the battle of Thermopylæ!

These may be taken as fair examples of the many errors contained in the Report. With such ignorance of the simple facts of history, how can these teachers grapple successfully with the "Parallels," the "Correlates," the "World-ideas," and the other mighty notions for which the "Perspectives" provide? GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., March 10, 1898.

FOREIGN EXPRESSAGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your number for March 10, "P." narrates an instance of double charge in foreign expressage. He thinks that, had the books in question been sent by mail in three or four small packages, they would have reached their destination more quickly and at much less cost.

I am not so sure about that. There is a German monopoly which seizes upon all mail matter that can by any means be construed as constituting "packages," forwards them at its leisure—and very leisurely leisure it is!—and charges heavily before it will surrender them. I have had a good deal of experience. It has repeatedly happened that parcels mailed to me from Russia, with postage fully paid (they would not be accepted otherwise), have been seized by that German company, forwarded on the slowest available steamer, and delivered only on payment of dues which far exceeded the postage. I paid $1.15 on such a package in December last, and the package was very much smaller and lighter than the ten books mentioned by "P." could have been. It, also, was literary matter, non-dutiable.

The German Government *does* levy such a tax in that it permits that packet company to seize prepaid mail matter at its own sweet will. It reminds me of the indignation I encountered in Austria when I suggested that the revenue stamp affixed to every number of my daily paper from Vienna (over and above the subscription price) was a tax on civilization. "We are not so barbarous as to tax intellectual work!" cried the Austrian. The retort is obvious.

ISABEL F. HAPGOOD.

NEW YORK, March 10, 1898.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The letter of your correspondent "P." in regard to "Foreign Expressage," in the *Nation* of March 10, moves me to make public my own recent experience with the United States Express Company, which advertises itself as a forwarder of valuables "by connecting expresses throughout the entire United States and foreign countries." On the 4th of January, ult., this company accepted a package for delivery at Ousland, Mandal, Norway, the sender prepaying the seventy-five cents charges called for by the printed tariff of the company. About a week ago I received a letter from Norway saying that the package had just arrived *by post* from Hamburg, with two kronor (fifty cents) postage due thereon. The package could have been sent by mail from here for fifty cents; but to secure certainty and celerity in delivery it was sent by express—only to have it go finally by mail, and to be six weeks in transit. F. H. PUTNEY.

WAUKESHA, WIS., March 12, 1898.

Notes.

Benjamin R. Tucker, No. 24 Gold Street, will shortly have ready a full report of 'The Trial of Émile Zola,' making a pamphlet of 300 pages.

'The Meaning of Education,' by Prof. Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, will be among the spring publications of Macmillan Co., together with 'Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase-Paintings,' by J. H. Huddilston.

Among the authorities who are writing for the new 'Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology' which Professor Baldwin of Princeton is editing for the Macmillans (in addition to those announced some time ago), we note Profs. Simon Newcomb (physical science), Minot of Harvard (biology), Hadley and Simeon Baldwin of Yale (economics and law), Wheeler of Cornell (language), Giddings of Columbia (social science). The organization, which is now complete, includes a board of "Consulting Editors," comprising three for English, besides the general editor, four for German, and the same number for French, all among the best-known names in their departments, as may be judged from the following who constitute the English committee: H. Sidgwick (Cambridge), A. Seth (Edinburgh), W. James (Harvard). These "Consulting Editors," we are informed, are all giving positive counsel and aid to the work. A special feature is to be the very extensive bibliographies, which are mainly in the hands of Dr. Benjamin Rand of Harvard. The publishers expect to issue the work in two volumes early in 1899.

Dodd, Mead & Co. have nearly in readiness 'Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop,' correspondence now first published, with elucidations by William Wallace; 'Charles Dickens,' a critical study, by George Gissing; 'Wisdom and Destiny,' essays by Maurice Maeterlinck; 'The Diplomatic History of America, in its First Chapter (1452-1493-1494),' by Henry Harrisse; and 'Folks from Dixie,' by Paul Laurence Dunbar.

From T. Fisher Unwin's list we select 'Karl Marx and the Close of his System,' from the German of Prof. Böhm-Bawerk; 'Leo Tolstoy; or, The Making of a Prophet in the 19th Century,' by G. H. Perris; 'Paul Krüger and his Times,' by F. Reginald Statham; 'Memorials of an 18th Century Painter (James Northcote),' by Stephen Gwynn; 'British Guiana; or, Work and Wanderings among the Creoles and Coolies, the Africans and Indians, of the Wild Country,' by the Rev. L. Crookall; 'Saunterings in Florence,' a tourists' handbook, by E. Grifi; and 'Over the Alps on a Bicycle,' by Elizabeth Robins Pennell, illustrated by Joseph Pennell.

Mr. Lang's "Gadshill Edition" of Dickens's works (London: Chapman & Hall; New York: Scribners) proceeds with a stout volume of Christmas Books and 'The Old Curiosity Shop' in two volumes, all with the original illustrations, and all in the open typography of the first of this series. Mr. Lang has some very just remarks on Dickens's pathos and the changed view of it which our generation has to own, as well as on his vague sentimental philanthropy, with never a hint of ways and means for rectifying the abuse aimed at in the story. From Scribners, also, we have the third and fourth volumes of 'Frederick the Great' in their truly fine and very inexpensive "Centenary Edition" of Carlyle's Works; and another

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volume, 'Pipes o' Pan at Zekesbury,' in the handsome reprint of "The Poems and Prose of James Whitcomb Riley." Finally, the fourth, remodelled Baedeker's 'Egypt,' in a single volume for Upper and Lower. Five additional maps have been added by the latest editor of this incomparable handbook, Prof. Georg Steindorff of Leipzig, fresh from a special journey to the country in 1895. Later than that is the rising into being of the new Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, which on p. 75 is only "projected." The next edition will, in fact, have to undergo a complete renovation in the section now denominated "The Museum of Gizeh."

Bulwer's 'The Caxtons,' with sixteen illustrations, forms the newest in the line of standard English novels attractively brought out by the Putnams in conjunction with Service & Paton, London.

We have been tardy in reporting the issue of volume xi. in Macmillan's edition of Turgeneff, 'The Torrents of Spring,' and volume vii. in that of Björnson, 'Captain Mansana, and Mother's Hands'—both enjoyable possessions. And now we must welcome the long-contemplated Globe Chaucer, edited by Alfred W. Pollard, with three special collaborators, one of whom is an American, Prof. Mark H. Liddell of the University of Texas. Mr. Pollard has taken the "Canterbury Tales" and the "Legend of Good Women" for his province, together with glossary, preface, and introduction. General principles have to some extent governed all the editors in evolving a text, and the result, though popular, is really a scholarly addition to existing texts. Each editor presents a diagrammatic scheme or genealogy of the MSS. compared. A select number of variant readings are given as foot-notes. Each page bears at the top the line numbers of the included poetic fraction, as 167-234, 235-291, etc. In the glossary, we remark the generally single reference to a use of the word, as a concordance was out of the question. In brief, in its apparatus as in its text, this is an edition to be thankful for.

The Rev. N. R. Johnston's autobiographic 'Looking Back from the Sunset Land' (Oakland, Cal.), with its sub-title, "People Worth Knowing," tells of life in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Vermont, and on the Pacific Coast. It would have been more readable if the humane author had lost his note-books, his minute transcripts from which confine the interest of his story almost to those who hold, with him, that "the most important convention or legislative body in any land is the annual Synod of the old Covenanter Church." Mr. Johnston has not lived so much out of the world as this belief would imply, for he has preached anti-slavery doctrine in the Green Mountains, has ministered to the freedmen in the Sea Islands and to the Chinese in California. His retrospect has value in all these aspects, the first involving contact and friendly coöperation with the Garrisonian abolitionists, who figure in his pages. It is also curious to study the adjustment of his *ex-officio* anti-slavery and non-voting denomination to the exigencies of the civil war, and to contrast with our author's inflexible orthodoxy, fixed as the monument on Bunker's Hill, his dislocated life, begun in the sunrise, and apparently destined to end in the sunset, land of our American continent. The volume contains a number of portrait illustrations, Covenanter, abolition, and Chinese.

The Boston Book Co. puts out No. 2, Bulletin of Bibliography Pamphlets, in tiny form: 'Bermuda in Periodical Literature,' by George Watson Cole of No. 36 West Seventeenth Street, New York, who asks for corrections and additions.

Three volumes of 'Annals of the Cape Observatory' have recently appeared. Volume iii. contains 'The Cape Photographic Durchmusterung for the Equinox 1875,' by David Gill and J. C. Kapteyn (Part I., Zones —18 deg. to —37 deg.). Volumes vi. and vii. are devoted to 'A Determination of the Solar Parallax and Mass of the Moon, from Heliometer Observations of the Minor Planets Iris, Victoria, and Sappho, made in the years 1888 and 1889.' This work is the outcome of coöperation with the observatories of Yale College, Leipzig, Göttingen, Bamberg, and Oxford, "to determine some of the fundamental constants of astronomy with a higher accuracy than had hitherto been attained." An appendix to 'Cape Meridian Observations, 1890-'91' contains W. H. Finlay's "Star-correction tables," which have been found so convenient at the Cape Observatory, where they have been in use since 1892, that they are now printed for the use of astronomers.

An appreciative notice of the late Dr. Frederic Dawson Stone, librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, accompanies a portrait of him and a list of his authoritative works in the January number of the Society's *Magazine*. A portrait of the late William Spohn Baker also enriches the number.

The Landmarks Club of Los Angeles, Cal., lays claim to priority as an "incorporated effective movement in all the United States to preserve . . . historic treasures." It is now a little more than two years old, as we read in the local *Land of Sunshine* for March, and "has secured (free) long leases on the two most important missions within its jurisdiction," San Juan Capistrano and San Fernando Rey. At each it has saved the chief buildings against the elements for another century. It has restored them in the only true sense of replacement, with repairs and buttresses for crumbling masonry. This work has been conducted by experts in Spanish-American architecture. The magazine gives a number of views, "before and after," which exhibit the club's well-directed activity.

M. Réne Doumic's "À Propos du *Désastre*," in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for February 15, is like an *envoi* following the story itself, which appeared in recent issues of the same review. The poetic memorial of the ill-fated army of Metz is here conceived of by the critic as an inspiring and opportune example of military discipline and honor for the whole army and the entire nation. Faith in the army and its chiefs (in spite of Bazaine) is the lesson taught by the brothers Marguerite to the people of France. This is not what Zola has taught in 'La Débâcle.' M. Doumic mentions neither the author nor the book by name, but his allusion is as plain as is the bearing of the whole article upon recent events. It does not impress one pleasantly, now that the court has sent to prison the man who defended what is greater even than the glory of an army, viz., simple justice and humanity.

The latest number of the *Zeitschrift für Deutschlands Buchdrucker* contains some interesting statistics of the German press in 1897 as compared with that of Austria and of Switzerland. Besides 3,056 *Fachzeitschriften*, representing some special department of study, there were published in the German Empire during the past year 3,477 political journals in 1,752 different places, making one newspaper to 12,092 inhabitants and to every 152 square kilometres of territory. In Austria, on the other hand, there is only one newspaper to 72,290 inhabitants and to every 1,167 square kilometres of territory, whereas in Switzerland there is one newspaper to 7,581 inhabitants and to every 107 square kilometres of territory. In these figures the effects of laws and police regulations restricting the freedom of the press are clearly perceptible. Switzerland, which enjoys the greatest liberty in this respect, stands first; then comes Germany, where the editor has the fear of leze-majesty ever before his eyes, and lastly Austria, where every effort is made to hamper the development and minimize the influence of journalism by arbitrary and absurd prohibitions, and especially by onerous stamp duties, which increase the cost and restrict the circulation of newspapers. Germany has nine newspapers, which appear more than twice daily, Switzerland one, and Austria none. There are also in Germany 79 papers issued twelve or thirteen times a week, 1,185 six or seven times a week, and 1,745 from two to five times a week. Fully one-half of the German political journals are independent, and do not discuss public questions from a partisan standpoint.

The belated number of the *American Journal of Archæology* for October-December, 1896, appeared only recently. The whole number is devoted to the first instalment of the results of the expedition to Crete which Prof. Halbherr undertook in behalf of the Archæological Institute of America. The number contains two articles entitled: "Inscriptions from Various Cretan Cities," and "Christian Inscriptions"—in all, 103 inscriptions, none of which are of importance. The first two numbers of the new series of the same periodical have also appeared, and we are informed that six other articles relating to Crete by Messrs. Halbherr, Orsi, Mariani, and Taramelli are already in type and will shortly appear in the *Journal*. Prof. Halbherr also announces that four more articles on Cretan matters will be sent to the editors early in 1898, and that additional articles, completing the series, will be prepared during the course of the present year. The greater part of the *Journal* for a year to come will be taken up with the results of Dr. Halbherr's explorations.

On Washington's Birthday the Rev. J. Edwin Odgers, Hibbert Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History, gave at Manchester College, Oxford, the first of three evening lectures on "Some Aspects of the Later Paganism," especially as it appears in the Latin Christian apologists. Christian authors seem to give us a travesty of the serious thought of Paganism, which now had its outlook towards Monotheism and anon merged into Telluric Pantheism. Strange and innovating rites, such as those of Mithras, loomed up in latter-day Paganism. These can now be studied with increasing facilities and encouraging results. Here the lecturer briefly sketched the old-time "agricultural" religion of Rome, dwelling upon the impersonal and abstract nature of its deities. The great gods of Roman state religion had no history, no adventures. In this regard they are sharply contrasted with the gods of Greek Olympus. The lecturer entered into sundry details of various late

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worships, illustrating his points by many inscriptions and statues found of late years by Italian excavators. After the Greek gods came in at Rome and apparently triumphed over the old impersonal abstractions, they were promptly discredited by the sceptical and rationalizing play of Greek philosophic thought. Euhemerus and his preposterous explanations of mythology were taken seriously. A process of syncretism began, which was accelerated by the importation of new and vividly conceived divinities from the East, and favored by the gradual failing of interest among the Romans in their old ancestral rites. The upshot of all these tendencies seems to have been in some sort a reversion to the early Roman impersonal conception of divinities, a "deanthropomorphization" of the Græco-Roman divinities, which ran parallel to the course of Stoicism and tended towards a general acceptance of the doctrine that

> "All are but parts of one stupendous whole
> Whose body Nature is, and God the soul."

Early in April a celebration is to be held at Florence, Italy, in honor of two natives of that city, intimately associated with the discovery of the new world, namely, Amerigo Vespucci and Paolo del Pozzo dei Toscanelli. The latter died in 1482, but his map was used by Columbus on his first voyage and served to direct its course. The selection of April for the celebration is quite arbitrary, although it may be due to the fact that the first expedition in which Vespucci took part, under Pinzon, sailed from Cadiz on May 10, 1497, returning to the same port October 15, 1498. The project of transporting the ashes of Amerigo Vespucci from Seville to Florence interested the Florentines in the family history of their illustrious townsman, and led to the discovery of his sole direct descendant in the person of an old lady of fourscore years, whom her father, having no son, christened Ameriga in memory of their illustrious ancestor. She married Viscount Talon, an Italian officer, who was mortally wounded in the battle of Solferino. Viscountess Talon now lives in Florence in needy circumstances, and receives from the Italian Government the sum of 13½ lire (about $2.50) a month in compensation for the death of her husband in the service of his country. The statement in the *Nazione* of February 1, that she has a small pension from the Spanish Government, is incorrect; she has never received anything from this source.

In this connection it is interesting to note the recent discovery of the fresco of a Pietà by Domenico Ghirlandajo in the Church of Ognissanti on Piazza Manin in Florence, with portraits of different members, men and women, of the Vespucci family. The portraits are two-thirds life-size, and Amerigo is represented as a young man about twenty years of age. The painting is described by Vasari, but was covered with whitewash during the restoration of the church in 1616. The removal of this coating has brought the fresco again to light in an admirable state of preservation.

The proposed memorial to the late "Lewis Carroll," namely, an "Alice in Wonderland" cot at the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street, London, will demand a thousand pounds. Subscriptions in this country may be sent to the Macmillan Company, No. 66 Fifth Avenue, New York.

A notable presentation of the Roman chorus has just been given at Middlebury College, Vermont. It was the crowning feature of a convention of the teachers of Latin in the fitting schools of Vermont, held March 11 and 12, and was carried through under the direction of Prof. Sanford of the chair of Latin. The chorus itself was the sophomore class in Horace, and it was, according to an eye-witness, a memorable sight when the 34 costumed singers and musicians moved slowly up the central aisles and grouped themselves on the platform. Three odes were sung, and all were received with the heartiest appreciation. The work of the singers alternated with a vivid illustrated presentation, by Prof. Sanford, of the Rome of the days of Augustus. Later in the evening a reception was tendered by the class of 1900 to the members of the convention and the faculty. Among those in attendance were many of the most prominent educators of Vermont.

—Apropos of Prof. Sterrett's communication in the *Nation* of November 11, 1897, "Who Are the People of Asia Minor?" a correspondent in that country writes as follows:

"I think Prof. Sterrett's view of the Turkish peasantry, or rather the non-Turkish peasantry, is correct; but the strange thing about it is that they did participate in the Armenian massacres. In all this region, and I believe the same is true of the region lying between us and Samsoun, the killing was done principally by the Turks of the cities and villages. The Koords gave themselves up to plunder, but did not kill much. This was not true of the region around Diarbekir and from there to Bitlis, Moosh, and Van. In that region the Koords slaughtered right and left. I do not know how to explain the participation of the village Turks in the massacres. I sometimes think nothing but Satanic possession can explain it. They themselves speak of it with regret now. But certain things may be said. First, they believed they were authorized by higher powers to kill the Armenians and take their property. Second, it seems to me that Moslem emissaries had been preaching a jehad against the giaours for some time previous to the outbreak. Third, when the thing once started, the thirst for blood and the frenzy carried everything before it. Fourth, it must be said that some of the most diabolical acts were committed by village Moslems. It is difficult to distinguish between your non-Turkish Moslem peasants and the Turks, so there is room for question which committed these acts. But in all this region the executioners were village and city Moslems rather than Koords."

—The first report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association makes an excellent showing. In addition to a statement of the principles on which the Commission have proceeded, and a useful list of printed guides to archives and other repositories of historical manuscripts, the report includes five sets of papers, all of value and interest. Sixty-one letters of Phineas Bond, British Consul at Philadelphia, to the Foreign Office of Great Britain, written during the years 1787-'89, contribute a good deal to the rather scanty knowledge of the economic conditions in America at that time. A long letter of November 10, 1789, to the Duke of Leeds, seems to have furnished Hammond, the British Minister, with the store of grievances on which he drew in his correspondence with Jefferson, in 1792, regarding American infractions of the treaty of 1783. Some intercepted letters from an unknown correspondent in America, written in 1756 to the Duke of Mirepoix, French Ambassador to Great Britain, together with letters from Halifax and others in reference to them, shed some new light on the movements in the colonies during the Seven Years' War, besides showing how much better informed the French were than the English regarding American affairs. Considerably more important are the letters of Stephen Higginson, written between 1783 and 1804. More than ordinarily readable, they are of especial interest as showing the view of things taken by a Federalist who, though not himself actively engaged in politics, was nevertheless, during this critical period, the familiar correspondent and trusted adviser of leaders like John Adams, Nathan Dane, Hamilton, and Knox. Four of the letters (Nos. 48-51) unfold what the editor fairly describes as "a curious transaction—a high Federalist of the 'Essex Junto' selling arms to the Virginia arsenal of 1799, built, as John Randolph years afterwards publicly declared, for the protection of the State against those Federal encroachments against which the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 were directed; or, if this is not effected, showing his correspondent how they can be sent to Toussaint l'Ouverture with great profit, and with the connivance of the Government, while the Secretary of State is assured that his Federalist friend has concluded not to send them thither."

—A series of extracts from the diary of Edward Hooker, while of less positive value than the other papers in the volume, gives an entertaining picture of political life in South Carolina in 1805-'8, as seen by a New England youth fresh from college. It is to be hoped that the Commission may see their way to printing the rest of this diary, including the parts, omitted here, picturing social life in South Carolina at the time. Perhaps the most important documents in the report are those relating to the proposed expedition of George Rogers Clark against Louisiana, in 1793-'4, selected from the Draper collection in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The expedition, as is well known, was set on foot by Genet shortly after his arrival in the United States; but Clark, who had already offered his services to Spain, appears from the documents here presented to have been the author of the plan. How much Jefferson knew of the proposed movement is not entirely clear; but that he knew a good deal about it is certain, and Genet professed, at least, to believe that Jefferson "was privately satisfied with his plans." Adequate financial support from France, however, was not forthcoming, while Genet's indiscretion soon alienated popular sympathy. It should be noted, also, that the correspondence appears to confirm the explanation of Gov. Shelby of Kentucky regarding his own attitude towards the expedition. We must not leave this interesting volume without commending the admirable editorial notes with which it is equipped.

—Lloyd's 'Clerical Directory' (Hamilton, O.: *News and Telegraph* Publishing Co.) is a well-meant attempt to supply the American Church with a statistical book of reference modelled after the style of the English "Crockford." It is intended to give, in regard of each of the clergy, his place of birth, college, and seminary, with his academic degrees and honors, the dates of his ordination to the diaconate and priesthood, and by whom he was ordained; the positions he has held, with their dates, and any printed works he may have published, with records of their publisher and price. To bring

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out the first issue of a list so crowded with minute statistics is a work of immense labor, and complete accuracy in the accomplishment of it is a thing hopeless to expect. We will not, therefore, judge the editor of the present venture too severely, although the inaccuracies in his book are many, and although gross blunders, like setting down St. Paul's School as being in Concord, Mass., occur far too often. Nor can the print or the paper or the binding of the volume be praised. Yet, after all these things are allowed for, the book has a distinct value. An imperfect list of this sort is, at least, better than no list at all, and one may hope and fairly expect to find the present issue greatly improved next year and as years go on. One difficulty, on which the editor can hardly have counted beforehand, has been the reluctance with which a certain number of the clergy have furnished the information asked for. Some have evidently feared that a knowledge of their age or of their foreign extraction (English, for the most part, or Canadian), would do them some injury in American eyes. Others, in a somewhat amusing way, resented the editor's circular as an impertinence. One reverend gentleman writes: "Your circular of June 4 was received. I do not understand that you have authority to demand the circumstances of my life and services, and very respectfully decline to furnish you with the information desired." Another is still more peppery: "The American Church has all the information about her clergy that she ought to have. At any rate, she has got all about me that she will ever get."

—The third volume of the translation of Nietzsche's Works (Macmillan) is numbered vol. x., and contains the 'Genealogy of Morals' and 'Poems,' the former being translated by Mr. W. A. Hausemann, the latter by Mr. J. Gray. The editor also, as the chief apostle of Nietzsche *in partibus infidelium*, supplies one of his pretentious introductions, in which it is noteworthy that he gives up as unphilological Nietzsche's derivation of moral terms from the antithetical valuations of actions accepted by a blonde master caste and a dark (*malus* = μέλας) slave race. But he still clings to the notion of a "master" morality, and seeks to illustrate Nietzsche's fancy by appealing to the English code of manners with its ideal of "gentlemanliness" and its divergence from the principles of Christian morals. The illusiveness of this illustration appears, however, as soon as we reflect that we have no right to expect an exact coincidence between an æsthetic valuation of conduct, such as that expressed in a code of manners, and an ethical valuation as expressed in a code of morals, and that the moral judgment always has to emphasize those aspects of conduct the observance of which is inadequately provided for by the other forces operative in the social life of the community. We ordinarily call morally wrong only such socially injurious conduct as does not obviously involve bad manners or foolishness and imprudence, or inflict immediate unpleasantness upon the agent.

—In spite of the fact, however, that its central idea is but the discovery of a prehistoric mare's-nest, the 'Genealogy of Morals' probably exhibits Nietzsche at his best. It has more coherence, both of thought and of style, than the majority of his other productions, and less of the froth and foam of an unbalanced mind, while it startles us even more frequently than is his wont by those strange flashes of insight which penetrate the surface of the social life and reveal the titanic forces that struggle dumbly at its core. Nor need we hesitate to concede that there is an element of truth in his contention that, in the secular struggle of brain with brawn, the moral and religious beliefs of mankind have often been subtly moulded by the former and daringly affirmed by the fiat of the latter. But the various strands have been too inextricably woven into the fabric of the social life to render it possible to disentangle the contributions of each, and the strength and weakness of the same fibre vary most surprisingly in different parts of the texture. Still, we can dimly discern the truth which is exaggerated in Nietzsche's account of the origin of "bad conscience," viz., that the struggle which transmuted the "ape and tiger" into civilized man involved cruelties as terrible as any which the imagination of Mr. Wells has conjured up in the unhallowed 'Island of Dr. Moreau'; we can perceive the truth, also, which peeps through the denunciations of Nietzsche's essay on the significance of ascetic ideals, viz., that asceticism is simply *training*, the training of a refractory and discordant nature. For these and other reasons the present volume will probably be found the most valuable and interesting of Nietzsche's works, and it would have been an agreeable surprise to find the translation also an improvement on its predecessors. Such, however, is unfortunately not the case. The rendering resembles Carlylese rather than English, and too often requires a reference to the German to become intelligible; at its best it is wooden, at its worst it translates, *e. g.*, "frevelhaft" by "frivolous" (p. 145)! We are subjected to annoyance, also, by mistakes about the use of will and shall (*e. g.*, pp. 191, 194), and the absence of an index, which in so discursive a writer as Nietzsche is indispensable. It is to be hoped that the editor will see his way to providing one for the whole translation in the end, but it would be far better to add an index to the outfit of each volume.

—Prominent representatives of Oriental and Biblical research in Germany, among them Wellhausen, Delitzsch, Kittel, Socin, Hommel, Nöldeke, and others, have united in the publication of an Appeal, the object being the organization of a "Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft." This society proposes to be national in character, and by the establishment of local unions in the larger cities, and by securing a large number of contributing members throughout the empire, expects not only to awaken a wider and deeper interest in the remnants and remains of ancient civilization in the Tigris-Euphrates valley, in Mesopotamia and Western Asia in general, as well as in Egypt, but, further, to secure the necessary funds to make excavations and bring monumental relics of these civilizations to the museum in Berlin. Hitherto German scholars have been compelled, as a rule, to depend for their working materials in this department on the expeditions which the governments or private liberality in England, France, and America have sent to the East. Lack of funds and of organization and coöperation has made the Germans mere lookers-on in this eager search and research. The Appeal in question draws attention to the wealth of Oriental antiquities deposited in the museums of London, Paris, and New York, silently contrasting this with the lack of such raw and original material in German collections. A preliminary commission has already been sent East by the "Orient-Komité," an organization on a smaller scale that has in recent years been supported by a few wealthy Germans. The Appeal declares that it shall be the purpose of the new society (1) to study Oriental antiquities in general, and Biblical archæology in particular; (2) to secure monuments of Oriental antiquity especially for the Berlin museum, and possibly for collections that may be founded in other parts of the empire; (3) to popularize the results and investigations in Oriental research and arouse a general interest in these investigations. The Prussian Cultus Ministry has warmly approved of this project, and Prince Heinrich von Schönaich-Carolath has accepted the Presidency of the Gesellschaft.

RECENT BRITISH POETRY.

There is said to be, at this moment, in both hemispheres, an epidemic of assassinations; and this is perhaps at its worst when it takes the form of that Oriental punishment which consists in being smothered with honey and then hung up to be stung to death by wasps. Another youth of fine poetic gifts is just now being offered as a sacrifice to that sensationalism which is as marked in the literary criticism of London as is the love of political sensation in the American press. Melancholy shadows of transient fame rise up to testify to the outcome of this sensationalism in the past: Philip James Bailey, Alexander Smith, Sydney Dobell; and more recently Francis Thompson. Each of these found his first crude work embraced with such enthusiasm by his early critics that he took not a step farther, and presently dropped into oblivion. Now comes the *Academy*—originally founded by Dr. Appleton, as one of his biographers tells us, to be "a critical record of real work by real students"—and heaps upon Stephen Phillips's 'Poems' (John Lane) such a crushing eulogium as is more fatal to genius than the *Quarterly's* treatment of Keats, or the "This will never do" which was supposed to have annihilated Wordsworth's "Excursion." How infinitely more wholesome was the early censure which made Tennyson withdraw from his collected writings the foolish lines,

"O darling room, my heart's delight,"

or which led Browning to elucidate his "Sordello" by head-lines. Fortunately for American literature, this terrible forcing process of London has only once been conspicuously brought to bear on an American poet; and surely the commonplace later career of "Joaquin" Miller gives a sufficient warning against taking these sudden ardors as a substitute for permanent fame. In the case of Stephen Phillips, one sees another in the long line of inspired schoolboys; it is evident that the laurels of Thompson have not suffered him to slumber, and that Le Gallienne's prettinesses have beguiled a naturally strong talent. "Beautiful Death" is a mere hammering out into a thinner surface of George Eliot's "Oh, may I join the choir invisible"; and the otherwise spirited phrase (p. 16),

"Not for that face that might indeed provoke
Invasion of old cities,"

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is irresistibly suggestive of Marlowe's most famous lines. On the other hand, we find everywhere a tendency to words too big or too little for the occasion; too big, as where Mr. Phillips says (p. 53):

"Frail was she born; petal by petal fell
Her life till it was strewn upon the herb;
Like petals all her facies lay about";

or too little, as in this (p. 79):

"I in the greyness rose;
I could not speak for thinking of one dead.
Then to the chest I went,
Where lie the things of my beloved spread."

Fine single lines occur, but only in the midst of those that are trivial and halting, as these (p. 34),

"Out from the arms of that shadow
Swiftly she burst and eager now";

or sprawling into cumbrous excess of syllables, as in that underscored below (p. 60):

"Thou maiden with the silent speckless ways
On plant or creature squandering thy heart;
Thou in caresses large shalt spend thy life,
Conspiring with the summer plans of lovers, scent
From evening hedge the walk of boy and girl."

The one poem in the book which not merely has unusual strength, but adds enough of complete unity in expression to be called a work of art, is this which follows; and if Mr. Phillips is ever to attain maturity, it must be by following in this direction (p. 6):

THE PRISONER.

Backward the prison door is flung,
Without the young wife stands;
While to herself she murmurs with bright eyes,
And over-eager hands.

They brought the young man out to her,
That was so strong erewhile;
Slowly he ventured up to her strange arms
With unrecalling smile.

O like a mother she must lead
His slow and wandering pace;
He stammers to her like a little child,
And wonders in her face.

O like a daughter must she live,
And no wife to him now;
Only remain beside those ailing limbs,
And soothe that aged brow.

"Husband," she said, "I had rather closed
Those wild eyes on the bier,
Rather have kissed those lips when they were cold,
Than seen them smile so drear!"

In passing from Mr. Phillips to Mr. Watts-Dunton's 'The Coming of Love, and Other Poems' (John Lane), we turn to something not merely mature, but in a certain sense Elizabethan in character—Elizabethan in its broad, free handling; in its tendency to dramatic forms which combine, like old-time masques, ingredients that seem in themselves incongruous (as, for instance, gypsies, sea-birds, and Alpine glaciers); Elizabethan in ardent, yet not ungenerous British feeling; and Elizabethan, above all, in the spirit of the sea. As fearlessly as Mr. Kipling, Mr. Watts-Dunton gives himself to the surges, while escaping altogether that pedantry of detail under which even Mr. Kipling's most ardent admirers are beginning to chafe at last, and which seems to belong rather to a landsman just taught the vocabulary of the forward deck than to one cradled on the sea. Whether Mr. Watts-Dunton has not carried the Elizabethan comprehensiveness of *menu* too far when he flings in his two celebrated sonnets, "Natura Benigna" and "Natura Maligna," as mere ingredients in a picturesque gypsy romance, we will not venture to decide; but he certainly grasps the Stormy Petrel as completely for his own as did Shelley the skylark, or Keats the nightingale, or Lowell the bobolink (p. 10):

MOTHER CAREY'S CHICKEN.

From out thy jail thou seest yon heath and woods,
But canst thou hear the birds or smell the flowers?
Ah, no! those rain-drops twinkling on the buds
Bring only visions of the salt sea-showers.
"The sea!" the linnets pipe from hedge and heath;
"The sea!" the honeysuckles whisper and breathe,
And tumbling waves, where those wild-roses wreathe,
Murmur from inland bowers.

These winds so soft to others—how they burn!
The mavis sings with gurgle and ripple and plash,
To thee yon swallow seems a wheeling tern;
And when the rain recalls the briny lash,
Old Ocean's kiss we love. Oh, when thy sight
Is mocked with Ocean's horses—manes of white,
The long and shadowy flanks, the shoulders bright—
Bright as the lightning's flash—

When 'all 'these scents of heather and brier and whin,
All kindly breaths of land-shrub, flower, and vine,
Recall the sea-scents, till thy feathered skin
Tingles in answer to a dream of brine—
When thou, remembering there thy royal birth,
Dost see between the bars a world of dearth,
Is there a grief—a grief on all the earth—
So heavy and dark as thine?

. . . . . .

And now to see thee here, my king, my king,
Far-glittering memories mirrored in those eyes,
As if there shone within each iris-ring
An orbèd world—ocean and hills and skies!
Those black wings ruffled whose triumphant sweep
Conquered in sport!—yea, up the glimmering steep
Of highest billow, down the deepest deep,
Sported with victories!—

To see thee here!—a coil of wilted weeds
Beneath those feet that danced on diamond-spray,
Rider of sportive Ocean's reinless steeds—
Winner in Mother Carey's Sabbath-fray
When, stung by magic of the Witch's chant,
They rise, each foamy-crested combatant—
They rise and fall and leap and foam and gallop and pant
Till albatross, sea-swallow, and cormorant
Must flee like doves away!

And thou shalt ride no more where thou hast ridden,
And feast no more in hyaline halls and caves,
Master of Mother Carey's secrets hidden,
Master and monarch of the wind and waves,
Who never, save in stress of angriest blast,
Asked ship for shelter—never till at last
The foam-flakes hurled against the sloping mast
Slashed thee like whirling glaives?

Right home to fields no seamew ever kenned,
Where scarce the great sea-wanderer fares with thee,
I come to take thee—nay, 'tis I, thy friend!
Ah, tremble not—I come to set thee free;
I come to tear this cage from off this wall,
And take thee hence to that fierce festival
Where billows march and winds are musical,
Hymning the Victor-Sea!

It is at least a well-intentioned error to smother a young poet with praise; it is surely a more agreeable task to build the monument of one long since dead and reintroduce him to the public, as Miss Guiney, with faithful love, has done for James Clarence Mangan in his 'Selected Poems' (Lamson, Wolffe & Co.). With her usual felicity and vigor of expression, she says of her hero: "He has been, for half a century, wandering on the dark marge of Lethe. It will not do, as yet, to startle him with gross applause. Otherwise his gratified editor would like to repeat, introducing Clarence Mangan, the gallant words with which Schumann once began a review of the young Chopin: 'Hands off, gentlemen; a genius!'" (p. 112). Yet Mangan gave the proof of absolute genius only in one song, "My Dark Rosaleen"—supreme among all Irish lyrics, and one whose characteristic is that, more than any poem ever written, it so intensifies the love of country, under the name of love of woman, that the two supreme passions absolutely meet and coincide, so that the reader is swept away and does not care whether it is the patriot or the lover who sings, for one strain suffices to utter the heart of each (p. 116):

"Woe and pain, pain and woe,
Are my lot, night and noon,
To see your bright face clouded so,
Like to the mournful moon.
But yet will I rear your throne
Again in golden sheen;
'Tis you shall reign, shall reign alone,
My Dark Rosaleen!
My own Rosaleen!
'Tis you shall have the golden throne,
'Tis you shall reign, and reign alone,
My Dark Rosaleen!

"Over dews, over sands,
Will I fly for your weal:
Your holy delicate white hands
Shall girdle me with steel.
At home in your emerald bowers,
From morning's dawn till e'en,
You'll pray for me, my flower of flowers,
My Dark Rosaleen!
My fond Rosaleen!
You'll think of me thro' daylight hours,
My virgin flower, my flower of flowers,
My Dark Rosaleen!"

And the most interesting and remarkable part of Miss Guiney's admirable introduction is its full exhibition of the fact that this wild lyric, which, more than all others, might seem to have been struck off at a white heat, was in reality but one out of three versions of the old Irish strain on which it is founded, but which has nothing of what Miss Guiney well calls "the stormy beauty" of Mangan's lay. In like manner, Mangan often, though not always, improved the German ballads which he purported to translate, as, for instance, Freiligrath's "Lady Eleanora von Alleyne," which he amplifies and makes more dramatic than when it left the hands of its author, or Schnetzler's ballad of the Mummelsee, which we judge from internal evidence, though it is not included in this edition, to be also by Mangan. He was, in truth, one of the daring Fitz-Gerald school of translators, and did not hesitate, in transferring a statue from the clay into the marble, to throw in all the added graces that he could.

To those who remember the late Mathilde Blind in her brilliant and affluent youth, when the inherited spirit of German radicalism filled her fine face with ardor, and when she found in Darwin something as stimulating and elevating as a new revelation from heaven, there will be a positive satisfaction in the brief 'Selection' from her poems, edited by Mr. Arthur Symons (London: T. Fisher Unwin). His tribute to her in his preface is simply admirable—brief, lucid, sympathetic, discriminating, and offering, with the admirable portrait, a better memorial than most elaborate biographies. Many of the poems are fine; the love-poems pure and passionate, while those bearing upon the sordid tragedies of humble life are full of keen and saddened observation. Yet the most interesting of all is this glimpse, from within, of the point where the noblest agnostic may find his creed unsatisfying (p. 140):

THE AGNOSTIC.

Not in the hour of peril, thronged with foes
Panting to set their heel upon my head,
Or when alone from many wounds I bled
Unflinching beneath Fortune's random blows;
Not when my shuddering hands were doomed to close
The unshrinking eyelids of the stony dead;
Not then I missed my God, not then—but said:
"Let me not burden God with all man's woes."

But when resurgent from the womb of night
Spring's Oriflamme of flowers waves from the sod:
When peak on flashing Alpine peak is trod
By sunbeams on their missionary flight;
When heaven-kissed Earth laughs, garmented in light;
That is the hour in which I miss my God.

'Rampolli: Growths from a Long-planted

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Root, being translations, new and old, chiefly from the German; along with a Year's Diary of an Old Soul,' by George MacDonald (Longmans), is a curiously named book, which recalls irresistibly to the American mind the *'Monologues of a Homeless Snail' of Yone Naguchi.* It is in reality a volume of unusually good translations, including especially the rarely translated 'Hymns to the Night' of Novalis, and ranging as far as the hilarious chants to be found in Luther's 'Song Book' under the name "Of Life at Court." But all the last hundred pages are occupied by a really original and mystical series of religious reveries, under the quaint name above given, the "Diary" stretching through twelve long months, and hinting at personal sorrows unexplained. To enjoy it the reader must also be able to enjoy Novalis; but both of them leave in the mind a curious sense of elevation and of nearness to some higher source of life, like that for which Mathilde Blind yearned. Take for instance these stanzas (p. 289):

"Oh, what it were to be right sure of thee!
Sure that thou art, and the same as thy son,
Jesus!
Oh, faith is deeper, wider than the sea,
Yea, than the blue of heaven that ever flees us!
Yet simple as the cry of sore-hurt child,
Or as his shout, with sudden gladness wild,
When home from school he runs, till morn set free.

"If I were sure thou, Father, verily art,
True father of the Nazarene as true,
Sure as I am of my wife's shielding heart,
Sure as of sunrise in the watching blue,
Sure as I am that I do eat and drink
And have a heart to love and laugh and think,
Meseems in flame the joy might from my body
start.

"But I must know thee in a deeper way
Than any of these ways, or know thee not;
My heart at peace far loftier proof must lay
Than if the wind thou me the wave didst roll,
Than if I lay before thee a sunny spot,
Or knew thee as the body knows the soul,
Or even as the part doth know its perfect whole.

"There is no word to tell how I must know thee;
No wind clasped ever a low meadow-flower
So close that as to nearness it could show thee;
No rainbow so makes one the sun and shower.
A something with thee, I am a nothing fro' thee.
Because I am not save as I am in thee,
My soul is ever setting out to win thee."

Miss Mitford's old-time phrase, "He translated Horace, as all gentlemen do," might now be almost applied to the new translators of Homer, and especially of the tempting, familiar, gossiping 'Odyssey.' Mr. J. G. Cordery had previously done the 'Iliad' in a manner which made the *Spectator* declare it to be the best blank-verse translation of the greater work; and this praise might easily tempt the author to attempt the smaller task. Unfortunately the problem is here quite different, for the 'Odyssey' lends itself far more easily than the 'Iliad' to prose version; and the competition with such renderings is proportionately more difficult. After Palmer, or even after Butcher and Lang, blank verse seems a little monotonous and gratuitous; one is tempted to try Dr. Johnson's famous experiment, as performed on Sheils, the compiler of 'Cibber's Lives of the Poets,' when Johnson read aloud a page of Thomson's 'Seasons,' to Sheils's great delight, and then announced that he had omitted every other line. Yet Mr. Cordery has made his work, on the whole, readable—more so, for instance, than that of Lord Carnarvon—and he has a just right to claim, in his preface (p. xvii), that he has "eschewed the use of all mock-archaic diction in which so many translators indulge"; this being apparently a hit at Mr. Andrew Lang, who has certainly erred sufficiently in that direction. Yet it is to be noticed that Mr. Cordery himself uses such a phrase as "fair-snooded wives" (p. 65), which is at best mock-modern, and hardly accurate even as such, inasmuch as the Scotch snood is the attribute of maidenhood, not wifehood. It is rhythmically doubtful, too, whether Homer's alternative of Odysseus and Odyseus, with the accompanying change of quantity, is as permissible in English as in Greek, although Mr. Cordery employs it. For the rest, the translation is vigorous, sympathetic, and, for blank verse, reasonably close. Test it, for instance, in that fine and touching passage where Homer does not hesitate to make his great hero weep at the tale of bygone deeds (viii., 521):

So sang the glorious Minstrel of these things:
With grief Odysseus inly was consumed.
Tears dropped from either eyelid down his cheeks,
Ev'n as in tears a woman falling clasps
Her husband, who before his people's eyes
Hath perished for his children and his home;
And she hath seen him in his agony,
And wildly across his body showering herself
Lies shrieking, till her enemies lead her off,
Pricking her with their lances from behind,
To slavery, and to bear distress and toil,
While her fair cheeks thenceforward fall away
In grief most piteous; such the piteous tears
Odysseus shed.

In this passage the peculiar phrase "showering herself" seems a forced and yet rather felicitous equivalent for χυμένη, a word which certainly has a meaning less adequately expressed by Palmer's "flings herself" or Butcher and Lang's tame "embracing." On the other hand, to introduce the phrase "fair" before "cheeks" (παρειαί) is a distinctly modern and conventional touch which takes half the strength out of Homer's "with pain most pitiful her cheeks are thin." This is Palmer's version, and Butcher merely puts "grief" instead of "pain," while Lord Carnarvon solves the problem by altogether omitting the clause. There is in Mr. Cordery's book a good deal of this kind of inequality of execution, to which a translation of Homer into verse is always liable, but it is good honest work, nevertheless, and on the whole increases one's respect for the author.

The two aspects of the legal profession—the sublime and the trivial—were never perhaps better marked than in Addison M'Leod's 'A Window in Lincoln's Inn' (Kegan Paul), were it only in these two extracts from the close of "Outside the Window" (p. 28):

O men of laws,
Ye are not built until the end of time;
But temporary sheds and shanties, raised
Till law grows greater, needs a finer house,
When she shall pull you down and cast you by.
Yet, if we mould ourselves to finer clay,
We with our lives may build a house on earth,
Or help to build it. Stately towers rise,
Long graceful colonnades, translucent domes,
And when the work is done the world shall end.
And no more do we know the plan of it,
Or wherewithal we make it glorious,
Than coral insects working in the sea
Know what a wondrous land shall rise to life,
What woods, what shores, what flowers cover it.
And with our hearts a house is built in heaven.
If they are worthy, where the Source of all
Shall have his dwelling; using them perchance
As veined marble for the lower walls,
While the white angels make the coping stone.

. . . . . .

So moralizing in a lofty strain,
A sound of thunder coming from the door
Arouses me; the edges bending in,
As if a hurricane was clamoring
For my opinion on a point abstruse
Touching the mysteries of light and air.
"Who is it?" Hastily the Muse is sent
Under the table, and the law resumes.
Then enter Clerk: "For the last half hour, sir,
I have been hammering to make you hear."
"What is it, Edwards?" "Mr. Bullard's clerk
About the Wapping Mortgage." "Show him in."
(Scene closes on the poet discussing with the clerk whether the title is affected by a sub-demise to Skinflint in fee tail, with every appearance of interest.)

It is difficult to say anything about Mr. Le Gallienne's 'Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám' (John Lane)—a paraphrase from several previous versions, except that its title is in no way justified and its execution of little value. If a man ignorant of Greek were to reconstruct a versified 'Odyssey' from Palmer's or Butcher's translation, no value would be given to it by putting 'The Odyssey' on the title-page; and even a sonnet like that of Keats on Chapman's Homer would scarcely justify the title. It is a comfort to think that, as Mr. Le Gallienne frankly cuts free from FitzGerald, he makes no attempt to spoil the very finest passages of the latter's version, and the resulting effect of mediocrity must be divided between the other translators and their present poetic scribe. Not that Mr. Le Gallienne is always mediocre, for he has occasional streaks of something like genius; yet these are never continuous enough to constitute what miners call "pay gravel," and he has constantly affected that very form of London and Paris cynicism which he protests against in his best poem. He must needs bring it even into Omar Khayyám, as in the following stanza (p. 63):

O heart, my heart, the world is weary-wise,
My only resting-place is your deep eyes.
O wrap me warm in your illusive love,
For well I know that they are also lies.

This surely does not belong to the Vale of Cashmere, where lovers do not languidly exult in the faithlessness of their mistresses; it has a flavor of the Champs-Élysées and of Piccadilly.

A better book by another young English poet, whose greatest weakness lies in having been Mr. Le Gallienne's editor and endorser, is Mr. William Watson's 'The Hope of the World,' in which, though the title-poem is inadequate—as title-poems are wont to be—contains the following fine lines written on Salisbury Plain, and addressed to a lady whose kinsman, Mr. Aubrey de Vere, has revived the old Irish legends with such beauty. For those who recall the "billowing leagues" of that rolling prairie of English soil, and who will always associate with it the sheep-bells and the pewits—Mr. Watson does not mention the sky-larks, perhaps because they do not represent so much to him as to an American—these sixteen lines must have an unerring charm (p. 39):

TO MRS. HERBERT STUDD.

Amid the billowing leagues of Sarum Plain
I read the heroic songs which he, the bard
Of your own house and lineage, lovingly
Hath fashioned out of Ireland's deeds and dreams,
And her far glories, and her ancient tears.

The sheep-bells tinkled in the fold. Hard by,
A whimpering pewit's desultory wing
Made loneliness more manifestly alone.
Friend, would you judge your poets, try them thus:
Read them where rolls the moorland, or the main!

Not light is then their ordeal, so to stand
Neighboured by these large natural Presences;
Nor transitory their honour, who, like him,
No inch of spiritual stature lose,
Measured against the eternal amplitudes,
And tested by the clear and healthful sky.

This sonnet to Mr. Aldrich also deserves especial recognition (p. 56):

TO THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH.

In answer to his sonnet "On Reading 'The Purple East.'"

Idle the churlish leagues 'twixt you and me,
Singer most rich in charm, most rich in grace!
What though I cannot see you face to face?
Allow my boast, that one in blood are we!
One by that secret consanguinity
Which binds the children of melodious race,
And knows not the fortuities of place,
And cold interposition of the sea.
You are my noble kinsman in the lyre:
Forgive the kinsman's freedom that I use,
Adventuring these imperfect thanks, who late,

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Singing a nation's woe, in wonder and ire—
Against me half the wise and all the great—
Sang not alone, for with me was your muse.

If the words "weird" and "grewsome" did not exist in abundance just now on the lips of young ladies, it would be necessary to coin them, or something like them, to describe the favorite themes of Mrs. Shorter (*née* Dora Sigerson) in her 'The Fairy Changeling, and Other Poems' (John Lane). So many of these poems end in skeletons and shrouds and phantoms and churchyard mould that one would reproach the writer, were she anything but Celtic, with a most gloomy imagination; whereas she is very probably one whose delights are equal to her depths, and who is not in the least depressed by her own tragedies. As the daughter of an accomplished father, Dr. George Sigerson, she has doubtless been immersed from childhood in that fascinating world of revived tradition which has, in the hands of Mr. Yeats and Fiona MacLeod, produced results so remarkable; and though nothing that she has yet done has quite so fine and airy a touch as Mr. Yeats's world of fantasy, nor anything so altogether amazing in power as Fiona MacLeod's "The Prayer of Women" and "The Rune of Age"—nor has she even produced any single poem so haunting as Miss Alice Gillington's "The Doom-Bar" and "The Seven Whistlers"—yet there is in this volume a glimpse of latent strength and imagination which may yet place her by the side of the best of these. One of the most thoughtful of her poems is "Unknown Ideal" (p. 75), which appeared originally in the *Chap-Book*. Another is the following (p. 57):

THE KINE OF MY FATHER.

The kine of my father, they are straying from my keeping;
The young goat's at mischief, but little can I do:
For all through the night did I hear the Banshee keening;
O youth of my loving, and is it well with you?

All through the night sat my mother with my sorrow;
"Whist, it is the wind, O one childeen of my heart!"
My hair with the wind, and my two hands clasped in anguish;
Black head of my darling! too long are we apart.

Were your grave at my feet, I would think it half a blessing;
I could herd then the cattle, and drive the goats away;
Many a Paternoster I would say for your safe keeping;
I could sleep above your heart, until the dawn of day.

I see you on the prairie, hot with thirst and faint with hunger;
The head that I love lying low upon the sand.
The vultures shriek impatient, and coyote dogs are howling,
Till the blood is pulsing cold within your clenching hand.

I see you on the waters, so white, so still, forlorn,
Your dear eyes unclosing beneath a foreign rain:
A plaything of the winds, you turn and drift unceasing,
No grave for your resting; O mine the bitter pain!

All through the night did I hear the Banshee keening;
Somewhere you are dying, and nothing can I do;
My hair with the wind, and my two hands clasped in anguish;
Bitter is your trouble—and I am far from you.

The Workers: An Experiment in Reality. By Walter A. Wyckoff. The East. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1897.

Mr. Wyckoff's book is sure to find readers, for it has the one indispensable literary quality of interest. What carries the reader along is not the sociology (the author is a lecturer on sociology at Princeton, and his experiment had a sociological motive), but the story. One of the things charged to the author for a fault by some critics—that he is constantly telling us of his physical sufferings in his self-imposed task—is, perhaps, a literary merit. It sounds true, and helps to make the rest credible. When the author imputes sufferings of the same sort to laborers inured to toil, he may be blamed for falling into a common sociological "pathetic fallacy," but he does not often seem to do this. That his own hands and feet were blistered, his eyes blinded, his throat parched, and his muscles tortured, were facts important to him and relevant to the story.

To sum up the narrative in a few words, it appears that the author, avowedly a man without much experience of life, was paying a visit at a country house on the Sound, when he fell in with a chance acquaintance—a man of the world—whose talk suddenly suggested to him the idea of making an experiment in life by sallying forth disguised as a laborer, and sharing, for a time, the laborer's lot, becoming himself a part of the labor "problem," and thus studying the social questions affecting the laboring man at first hand. No sooner said than done. He is on the road as a laborer without funds, looking for a job, and for several months he finds employment—as one of a "gang" under a boss, as a hotel porter, as a hired man at an asylum, as a farm hand, and as a lumberman or woodchopper in a logging-camp. How far he was actually disguised seems doubtful, for, according to his own account, he struck those with whom he worked as a nondescript, being taken, in one instance, not unnaturally, to be a "sky-pilot" (p. 219). But whatever they thought of him, he lived their life patiently, and his report of what he saw and heard is curious and interesting. We select a few of the points that have struck us, though the author does not dwell on them; his main object wisely being to report facts only, leaving others to draw conclusions.

The first fact to which the report points is the extraordinary ease with which employment is obtained in the United States—and that, too, in the Eastern States—by any one willing to work with his hands. Mr. Wyckoff starts out without either money, references, or good physical qualifications (for he is totally unused to manual labor), and yet finds work at every turn, and "no questions asked." His experience, so far as it goes, gives the lie to the common talk of the vast army of people who are out of work and cannot get it. The book confirms the view that, as a rule, any man in the United States who is willing to work with his hands can get food and lodging; *i. e.*, that the demand in the unskilled labor market is generally greater than the supply. Mr. Wyckoff's experiment was made in 1891. Had it been made in 1894, the test would, of course, have been more severe.

Another point very noticeable is that the picture here given of the laboring world does not warrant any new sociological conclusions whatever. Mr. Wyckoff represents the average laborer (what he calls the proletaire) as a good-natured nomad, very profane and loose in his morals, ignorant and coarse in his conversation, and dirty in his habits, brutal if placed in authority, and seeking relaxation from toil chiefly in the gratification of his appetites. About thrift our author has nothing to say, probably from not having seen much sign of it, and, from beginning to end, there is nothing in the account given of the laborer to please those who imagine his vices and troubles to be the result of oppression and wrong. The author's idea evidently is that what he describes and deplores is to be attributed to a lack of organization—this is almost the only inference that he allows himself. He shows (p. 69) how, if the proletariat were managed by an intelligent and superior "organization," everything would be much better than it is. But he does not seem to see that this organization must be produced by the very men of whom he gives such a deplorable account. It is individuals who produce organization in ordinary life, and if sociology can reverse the process, it is not too much to ask for a clear explanation of how it is to be done.

But the book has another feature which makes it really useful. We doubt if any American of the employer class can read it without a feeling that the picture tells a story of the whole civilization in which he lives. It is a thoroughly American book, and could have been written in no other country. As we lay it down we cannot help reflecting that there is in the description an exposure. At first we hardly perceive what it is that is laid bare, but on reflection find that we have really been reading about ourselves. These wood-men, and hotel-porters, and farm-hands, and day-laborers are ourselves, stripped of our civilization and inherited tastes and thoughts and sentiments, and doomed, in all our nakedness, without means and with little hope, to struggle through life as we may. And, so born again, what is there in us to make it likely that we should be very different from the proletariat here described? How large a proportion of our own class are free from the vices which play havoc a little lower down in the scale? Face to face with the human animal, turned adrift, hungry, and with unsatisfied wants, and surrounded, too, with preachers assuring us that we are entitled to a liberal share of all the world affords, what should we make of the labor "problem"? Man is the sport of his circumstances; character alone elevates him above them. This is as true of the plutocrat in his electric cab as of the motorman who drives him.

The book ends with a sermon and a prayer; the author, "sky-pilot" that he is at heart, perceiving after all that it is rather an attitude of mind that he wishes to encourage than an economic propaganda that he has to spread.

A Students' History of the United States. By Edward Channing. Macmillan. 1898.

A History of the United States for Schools. By Wilbur F. Gordy. Scribners. 1898.

Prof. Channing is at least to be praised for his courage. The large number of text-books in American history, some of them by well-known writers, lately put upon the market, all of about the same size and style, and all pretending to do about the same thing, has not deterred him from adding another to the list. Externally, his 'Students' History' makes a good impression. It is an attractive volume of six hundred pages, well supplied with maps and pertinent illustrations, and equipped with an excellent bibliographical "apparatus." Intended primarily for advanced classes in high and normal schools, or for such students as have

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already used a more elementary work, it has little to do with the anecdotal and picturesque side of history, or with the minor details of military movements. In the apportionment of space, colonial events are subordinated to national; three-fourths of the book being given to the period after 1760, and considerably more than half to the period subsequent to 1783. From the standpoint of formal construction, hardly any work in its field shows a clearer perception of the broad proportions of things. As regards details, also, there is much to commend. Prof. Channing is particularly at home in American colonial history, and he has here given a clear and well-ordered account of the establishment and development of the colonies, their relations with the mother country, and the causes of the Revolution. The mass of facts is not great, but the selection is generally judicious, the treatment adequate, and the emphasis fair.

If the same praise to which the earlier chapters are fairly entitled could be accorded to the second half of the volume, we should feel bound to credit Prof. Channing with having produced a text-book of a high order. Unfortunately, however, we cannot think his treatment of the constitutional period altogether commendable. We hesitate to express an opinion which may, perhaps, do him an injustice; but it is impossible to feel here that he has at all points a thorough mastery of his subject, or an extensive first-hand acquaintance with it. For the space occupied, the information imparted is scanty: the facts are hardly more than the usual ones of elementary handbooks, while the point of view is, as a rule, conventional. Events in their isolation are treated clearly and, in general, accurately enough; but with events in their connection the author does not seem to be greatly concerned. On such important topics, for example, as the origin and development of political doctrines, the growth of parties, the influence of public men, the interaction of economic and political forces, or the embodiment of moral ideas in political action, the 'Students' History' makes but a slight contribution: every one of these matters is alluded to, but no one of them is, to our thinking, adequately set forth. It cannot be denied that a satisfactory treatment of these and similar subjects, in a limited space, is difficult; not to do it, however, is to incur the danger of making the exposition somewhat clearer than the period. The result of these shortcomings is that the latter half of the book lacks interest. That all the things of which Prof. Channing writes did really happen, and in much the way in which he describes them, the student will have no difficulty in believing; but why they happened, or how they could have had any particular interest for the persons concerned in them, is not always made clear.

A short introductory chapter of "Suggestions to Teachers," prepared by Miss Anna B. Thompson, of the Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass., merits more attention than can be given it here. The whole array of "method" now thought necessary, by some teachers, for instruction in history in elementary schools—outline maps, note-books, digests, special reports, conferences, "fluents," "perspectives," "chains," etc.—is here set forth by an acknowledged expert, and illustrated by questions and topics appended to the various chapters. We have no doubt that any student who survived a thorough course of treatment along the lines here marked out would have a deep sense of the importance of history in the school curriculum, but whether he would have found time to study anything else seems doubtful. We agree with Prof. Channing, however, that while few teachers will be able to adopt all of Miss Thompson's suggestions, every teacher can derive assistance from them.

Several statements in the text need correction. Jefferson's ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory was passed in 1784, not in 1785 (p. 247). The Whiskey insurrection occurred in 1794, not in 1796 (p. 294). Jackson's proclamation of 1832, to South Carolina, was issued December 10, instead of December 11 (p. 421). The "specie circular" of 1836 was not "to the effect" that nothing "save gold and silver *and notes of specie-paying banks*" was to be received in payment for lands (p. 434); no provision was made for the acceptance of notes of any kind. Lord Ashburton was not "British Minister at Washington" in 1842 (p. 438), but a special envoy. January 19, 1848, the date on which the first discovery of gold in California is said to have been made, was not "ten," but fourteen, days (p. 453) before the signing of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (February 2). Douglas had been trying for ten years previous to, not *since*, 1854 (p. 465) to secure a Territorial organization for the Nebraska region. A slip on page 483, by which "acres" is substituted for square miles, makes the figures for the area of the country meaningless. John *W.* Crittenden (p. 498) should, of course, be John J. Crittenden. It was the New England Emigrant Aid Society, not the *Emigration* Society (p. 470), that helped the cause of freedom in Kansas. One error of peculiar importance should not be passed over. In speaking (p. 305) of Adams's message on the "X. Y. Z." affair, Prof. Channing says:

> "News travelled slowly in those days, and it was April, 1798, before Adams communicated to Congress the failure of this ill-starred commission. After narrating the facts of rejection, he concluded with the assertion that he would 'never send another minister to France without assurances that he would be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation.'"

The reader would naturally suppose that the words quoted from Adams form a part of the message of April 3, of which the writer is speaking; as a matter of fact, however, they are not found in that message at all, but in a message of June 21. It is a curious coincidence that Prof. Channing's colleague, Prof. Hart, in his 'Formation of the Union,' should have fallen into the same ditch.

Mr. Gordy's book, written, apparently, for younger students than those whom Prof. Channing has had in mind, may be commended as a successful attempt to tell again the leading facts of American history. The claims of the preface would, perhaps, lead one to expect a volume of some distinction; but the work seems to be carried out along substantially the usual lines, though, so far as we have tested it, with care and accuracy of statement. The profuse illustrations are rather cheaply executed; many are "fancy" pictures of no historical worth. The scattered suggestions to pupils show the practical teacher, and the references prefixed to the various chapters are well chosen. On the whole, Mr. Gordy has produced a safe and usable book.

Life and Letters of Thomas Kilby Smith, Brevet Major-General U. S. Volunteers: 1820—1887. By his son, Walter George Smith. With portraits. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 8vo, pp. 487.

The home letters of soldiers in the civil war will always be prized as original sources of history, and a new series is cordially welcomed. They are to be used by students with discretion, of course, for no historical material is more variable in value. They will give endless interesting work to the expert, not merely in collecting and sifting the evidence of the truth in regard to important historical events, but in studying the character and qualities of the men themselves who were in the struggle, and who were drawing their own portraits unconsciously in the freedom of intercourse with those nearest and dearest to them.

It is no disparagement to the clever work done by the author of the Memoir which makes a third of the volume, to say that the collection of letters must be considered by far the more important part of the book in both the aspects indicated above. During the campaign of Shiloh, the attack on Chickasaw Bluff, the capture of Arkansas Post, the siege of Vicksburg, and the Red River campaign, we have a full current account of the experiences of the writer, his comments on what he saw, his opinions of the men about him and over him, and his transcript of the emotions which stirred him, It would be hard to imagine a more unreserved disclosure.

Kilby Smith assisted in organizing troops in Ohio, in the summer of 1861, and at the end of October was made Colonel of the Fifty-fourth Ohio Infantry. He had been Deputy-Clerk of Court in Cincinnati, and an active young politician in the Douglas wing of the Democratic party. His regiment took the field in February, 1862, becoming part of the division which, with Gen. Sherman, joined Grant after the fall of Fort Donelson. He showed military aptitude in drilling his regiment and courage in leading it. He succeeded to the brigade command when his superior was wounded at Shiloh, was promoted Brigadier-General after Vicksburg, and commanded a division in Banks's Red River expedition. The greater number of his published letters were written to his mother, a woman of active mind and energetic character, proud of her son and ardently ambitious for him. Her praise stimulated him in his military work and in his epistolary composition. If the letters grow too rhetorical, we remember to whom they are addressed, and cannot find it in our heart to blame the young officer for an effusiveness so affectionately invited.

Conscious of good performance of duty and of the approval of Sherman and Grant, promotion was frankly sought, and all the influences likely to be useful were industriously used. Mother and wife took their part in an active correspondence, which rallied powerful friends to the work of securing the desired object. It was gained, perhaps, not much sooner than it would have been without so energetic efforts, and the distinction was gracefully and honorably worn when it arrived. It was part of Gen. Smith's temperament to enjoy keenly the recognition of others, and to rate at their full value the evidences that his comrades and fellow-citizens understood his career. A genial bonhomie made him a welcome guest and companion, so that, despite se-

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rious inroads on his health made by disease incident to the camp, life did not appear to him, either in the present or in retrospect, in sombre colors. The letters of such a brave gentleman and good soldier, holding the mirror up to his daily life with its adventures, to his own heart with its hopes and fears, its aspirations and its disappointments, must needs be a typical study, which students of the period would not willingly lose.

A Group of French Critics. By Mary Fisher. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1897.

This group of critics is composed of the upright and delicate and narrow Scherer; Bersot, the philosophic moralist; the brilliant lecturer Saint-Marc Girardin; the fastidious, man-of-the-world recluse, the letter-writer Doudan; and the irritable and bitter journalist, Gustave Planche. They all belong to another generation than the present, and are none of them of quite sufficient importance to demand much personal study. They are no longer living voices in any sense. A higher estimate than this is held of them by Miss Fisher, herself a very kindly critic, who has emptied on these pages the contents of her extract-book, mingled with selections from her own *pensées*, which are sometimes as well worth thinking as this:

"There is a vast difference between living in your opinions and having your opinions live in you. In the first case you use your opinions as you do your house and furnishings, for mere shelter and convenience. They are no more a part of you than your house and furnishings; and yet, like these, they may give you a certain prestige, a certain social status. . . . They are not *in* you but *on* you. In the next case your opinions are a living part of your character. They give shape and consistency to it. . . . If they change, it is by the slow vital process of waste and assimilation."

It is a pleasure to an American to read these lines, taken from one of Doudan's letters; he is writing of Abraham Lincoln:

"The democrats will do well to guard his memory preciously, for he is the finest portrait of their race. He is exactly the ideal democrat—simple, rugged, mild, patient, courageous when the primitive sentiments of human nature lay hold of him by the throat. Pericles did not speak so well of the young Athenians who died in the Peloponnesian war as he did over the American dead brought home to the great desolate cemetery near the city of Washington."

There would be a certain absurdity in criticising a volume like this. To criticise a criticism of critics would be to create one of those simulacra of literature that the reader of to-day accepts as solid substance.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Arthur, Prof. J. C., and MacDougal, Prof. D. T. Living Plants and their Properties. Baker & Taylor. $1.25.
Baumbach, Rudolf. Nicotiana, und andere Erzählungen. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 30c.
Bayne, William. James Thomson. [Famous Scots.] Scribners. 75c.
Chambers's Biographical Dictionary: The Great of All Times and Nations. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
Chambré, Rev. A. St. J. Sermons on the Apostles' Creed. Whittaker. 75c.
Davis, Edith S. Whether White or Black Man. F. H. Revell Co. 75c.
Doyle, A. C. A Desert Drama. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.50.
Frazer, R. W. A Literary History of India. Scribners. $4.
Garnett, Richard. The Poetry of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. [The Muses' Library.] London: Lawrence & Bullen; New York: Scribners. $1.75.
Gill, Leonard. The Madness of Love. F. T. Neely.
Grosart, A. B. Robert Ferguson. [Famous Scots.] Scribners. 75c.
Harris, W. T. Psychologic Foundations of Education. Appletons.
Hempstead, J. L. Musings of Morn. F. T. Neely.
Henley, W. E. Poems. Scribners. $1.75.
Herbart, J. F. The Application of Psychology to the Science of Education. Scribners. $1.50.
Hopkins, N. M. Model Engines and Small Boats. D. Van Nostrand Co.
Jordan, Elizabeth G. Tales of the City Room. Scribners. $1.
Kelly, Edmond. Evolution and Effort. 2d ed. Appletons. $1.25.
Lloyd, A. H. Dynamic Idealism. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.
Lowell, J. R. Democracy, and Other Papers. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 15c.
Mansilla, Lucio V. Rozas: Ensayo Histórico-Psicológico. Paris: Garnier.
Marsh, Rev. W. H. H. The New Testament Church. Philadelphia: Baptist Publication Society.
Matthew, J. E. A Handbook of Musical History and Bibliography. London: H. Grevel & Co.; New York: Putnams. $3.50.
Memoirs of a Highland Lady. Edited by Lady Strachey. Longmans, Green & Co. $3.50.
Meurice, Paul. The Letters of Victor Hugo. From Exile, and After the Fall of the Empire. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $3.
Morris, William. The Sundering Flood. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.25.
Mumford, G. S. An Island God: A Tale of the First Kamehameha. New York.
Nissen, Hartvig. Rational Home Gymnastics. Boston: R. G. Badger & Co. $1.
Overton, Dr. Frank. Applied Physiology. Advanced Grade. American Book Co. 80c.
Palmer, Bertha. Stories from the Classic Literature of Many Nations. Macmillan. $1.25.
Pausanias's Description of Greece. Translated with a Commentary by J. G. Frazer. 6 vols. Macmillan. $25.
Porter, Rev. A. T. Led on Step by Step: Scenes from Clerical, Military, Educational, and Plantation Life in the South, 1828-1898. Putnams. $1.50.
Rankin, R. O. The Girl from Paris. F. T. Neely. 50c.
Renan's Life of Jesus. New York: Peter Eckler. 75c.
Rendall, Prof. G. H. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to Himself. Macmillan. $1.75.
Rowland, Kate M. Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. With his Correspondence and Public Papers. 2 vols. Putnams. $6.
Sabatier, Prof. A. The Vitality of Christian Dogmas. London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan. 80c.
Saint-Amand, Imbert de. Napoleon III. and his Court. Scribners. $1.50.
Scott, Sir Walter. Rob Roy. Old Mortality. Guy Mannering. The Antiquary. [Temple Edition.] London: Dent; New York: Scribners. Each two volumes at $1.60.
Sienkiewicz, Henryk. So Runs the World. F. T. Neely. $1.
Smith, Capt. Allen. Sarita. F. T. Neely. 25c.
Soans, R. G. John Gilbert, Yeoman: A Romance of the Commonwealth. F. Warne & Co. $1.50.
Stedman, E. C., and T. L. The Complete Pocket-Guide to Europe. New York: W. R. Jenkins. $1.25.
Stetson, Clarence. Why Not Cycle Abroad Yourself? New York: F. & E. Greenbaum. 50c.
The Annual Literary Index. 1897. Publishers' Weekly.
The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. [Globe Edition.] Macmillan. $1.25.
Tourgée, A. W. The Man Who Outlived Himself. Fords, Howard & Hulbert.
Tweedie, Mrs. Alec. Through Finland in Carts. London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan.
Underwood, Mary L. An American Mother, and Other Stories. Wausau, Wis.: Van Vechten & Ellis. $1.50.
Vedder, Prof. H. C. A History of the Baptists in the Middle States. Philadelphia: Baptist Publication Society. $1.25.
Webb, T. E. The First Part of the Tragedy of Faust in English. New edition. Longmans, Green & Co.
Willoughby, H. L. Across the Everglades. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $2.
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